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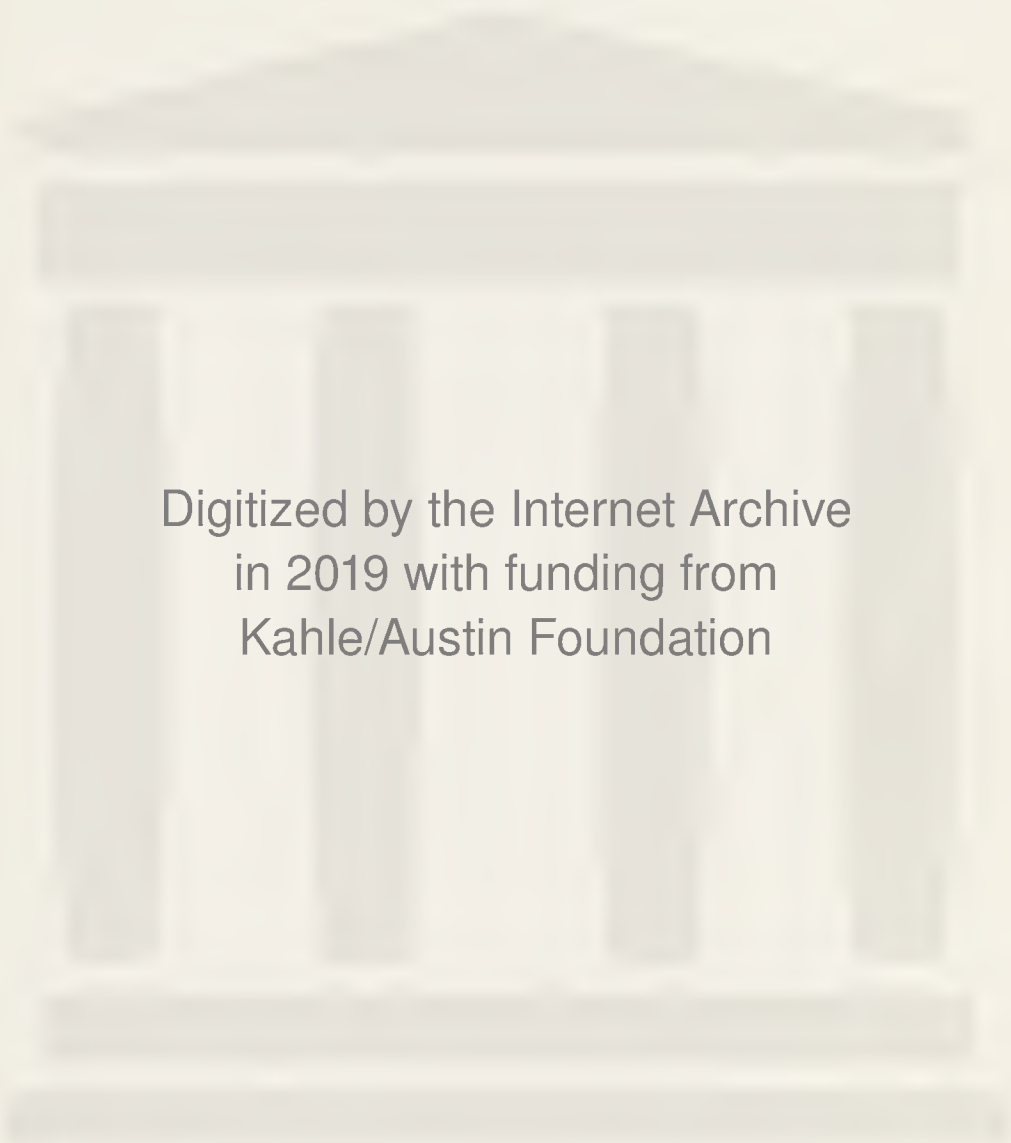
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# SIDNEY'S ARCADIA

## A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO VERSIONS

PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE AAN DE RIJKS-UNIVERSITEIT TE LEIDEN, OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR MAGNIFICUS JHR. MR. W. J. M. VAN EYSINGA, HOOGLEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER RECHTSGELEERDHEID, VOOR DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE TE VERDEDIGEN OP VRIJDAG 24 MEI 1929, DES NAMIDDAGS TE 4 UUR

DOOR

**REINARD WILLEM ZANDVOORT**

GEBOREN TE AVENHORN

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# PREFATORY NOTE.

ALBERT FEUILLERAT'S edition of the original version of Sidney's *Arcadia* seems to justify a renewed study of the relation between the first draft and the form in which the work was eventually published. In his preface, Professor Feuillerat has generously assigned to the present writer the task of investigating Sir Philip's development as a thinker. Any attempt to deal with this subject must necessarily take into account Friedrich Brie's learned analysis of the elements of Sidney's thought in his *Sidneys Arcadia, eine Studie zur englischen Renaissance*. Indeed, so thoroughly has Professor Brie traced Sidney's sources and formulated the aims for which he takes the *Arcadia* to have been written, that little would appear to be left for a later investigator but to modify some of his extremer conclusions. In view of this, I have ventured to extend my reference so as to embrace some other important aspects of the transformation of the *Old Arcadia* into the *New*, and have at the same time endeavoured to co-ordinate the results of previous writers on the subject. If this has led to a certain amount of re-statement, I hope my book may be of some service in bringing together and sifting much scattered material, and in dispelling a number of misconceptions still current among literary historians concerning the nature and origin of Sidney's once famous romance.

On completing this study I wish to record my indebtedness to those whose encouragement induced me to undertake it, and to all who have in any way assisted me during its progress. Two names stand out for special mention, those of Professor Albert Feuillerat, formerly of the University of Rennes in France, now attached to Yale University, U. S. A., and of Professor J. H. Kern, of the University of Leiden. When the Cambridge University Press announced the publication of a volume containing

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the text of the *Old Arcadia* as Part IV of 'The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney', I wrote to ask Professor Feuillerat whether, in his opinion, anything of importance could be added to what had been already said on the relation between the two versions. In reply, he not only assured me that the subject deserved a more thorough treatment than had been hitherto accorded to it, but offered to resign to me a project he himself had formed of undertaking such an investigation. My natural scruples to avail myself of this unparalleled generosity Professor Feuillerat allayed in the most amiable manner. I can only hope that the result may not fall too far short of his expectations.

No less great is my obligation to Professor Kern for consenting to sponsor my book as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Letters and Philosophy in the University of Leiden. Much, however, as I have profited by his remarks and suggestions as chapter after chapter of the MS. passed through his hands, the debt of gratitude I owe him has not been contracted on this account only. What I wish to take this opportunity of thanking him for is the sympathy and encouragement he has given me ever since I first came into contact with him now nearly sixteen years ago. His help and advice on various occasions have supported me more, perhaps, than he himself may be aware of.

In conclusion, I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mr. B. J. Timmer, of Groningen, for several pieces of research undertaken at my request at the British Museum; to Dr. Mario Praz for his interest in my work and for information on various points; to Professor A. Koszul, of the University of Strasbourg; to the Harvard College Librarian for facilities to inspect a MS. thesis by the late Mr. Moody; to Mlle Marie-Thérèse Derréal, now Sœur Marie-Raymonde, for the opportunity of seeing her MS. thesis on the *Arcadia*; to Dr. E. Kruisinga for the loan of a copy of Sommer's limited facsimile edition of the 1590 Quarto; to Professor Edwin Greenlaw for offprints of his Kittredge and Manly papers; to the officials of the Henry E. Huntington Library, at San Marino, California, for valuable help and information, and for permission to reproduce a page from the Ashburnham MS. of the *Old Arcadia*; to the Librarian of Queen's College, Oxford, for courteous permission to examine another MS. of the original version; to the staffs of the British

Museum, the Library of the University of London, South Kensington, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford; to Mr. G. F. Mientjes of the Library of the University of Nijmegen; and to many others who have helped me in a variety of ways. More specifically I should mention Mr. A. Swets, of Amsterdam, whose extensive knowledge and unfailing courtesy form a real asset of English studies in Holland.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Nijmegen, May 1929.

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# CHAPTER ONE.

## THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THAT OF THE EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS.

INTRODUCTORY — DATES OF COMPOSITION — THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE OLD ARCADIA — THE QUARTO OF 1590 — THE FOLIO OF 1593 — CONCLUSION.

### *Introductory.*

The earliest extant allusion to the *Arcadia* is believed to be contained in Thomas Howell's *Devises*, a volume of poetry published in 1581, [1]) and dedicated, like the *Arcadia*, to Sidney's sister, Mary, Countess of Pembroke. The verses 'Written to a most excellent Book, full of rare inuention' aptly apply to the subject of Sidney's romance, though neither its title, nor the author's name, is expressly mentioned.

This is done for the first time in a note [2]) contributed to Stow's continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (Vol. III, fol. 1554a) by Edmund Molineux, who had been Secretary to Sidney's father. Molineux states that 'not long after his returne from that iornie [viz. the embassy to Germany in 1577], and before his further imploiment by hir maiestie, at his vacant & spare times of leisure (for he could indure at no time to be idle and voide of action) he made his booke which he named *Arcadia*.' Howell — if he was indeed referring to the *Arcadia* — had complained: 'But all to long, thou hidste so perfite worke'; Molineux affirms that 'few works of like subiect hath beene either of some more

[1]) New edition by W. Raleigh, Oxford, 1906. See also Wolff, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, p. 343; *Loue*, in one of the lines there quoted, should be IOVE.

[2]) Reprinted in Flügel, *Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella* (1889), pp. XCVI—XCVII, and, without the 'Addidament', in Brie, *Sidneys Arcadia* (1918). Brie erroneously gives Molineux's Christian name as *Edward*.

earnestlie sought, choislie kept, nor placed in better place, and amongest better iewels than that was; so that a speciall deere freend he should be that could once obteine a copie of it'. An 'Addidament' to the note informs us that the latter 'was brought and deliuered to the impression before there was either speech, or could be imagination of his fatall end, which soone after happened.'

Thus far there is no mention of a revised version. But very shortly after Sidney's death his friend Fulke Greville wrote a letter [1]) to Sir Francis Walsingham, Sidney's father-in-law, in which we hear of an 'old arcadia', and of 'a correction of that old one, done 4 or 5 years sinse.' The passage concerning the *Arcadia* has often been printed [2]), yet it is perhaps desirable to reproduce it verbatim.

'Sr this day, one Ponsonby, a booke bynder in Poles Church yard, came to me and told me that ther was one in hand to print Sr Philip Sydneys old arcadia, asking me yf it were done with your honors consent, or any other of his frendes? I told him, to my knowledge, no: then he advised me to give warninge of it, either to the archbishope or doctor Cosen, who have, as he says, a copy to peruse to that end.

'Sr I am loth to renew his memory unto you, but yeat in this I must presume; for I have sent my lady, your daughter, at her request, a correction of that old one, done 4 or 5 years sinse, which he left in trust with me, wherof ther is no more copies, and fitter to be printed then the first, which is so common: notwithstanding even that to be amended by a direction sett downe under his own hand, how and why; so as in many respects, especially the care of printing of it, is to be don with more deliberation.'

But for Ponsonby, the original version of the *Arcadia*, which, as we learn from Molineux's note, was so highly valued by those who were fortunate enough to possess a ms. copy of it, might have been published as early as 1586 or 1587. As a matter of fact, the publication was stayed, and on August 23, 1588, Ponsonby himself was licensed to print the work in its revised form.

It was not until 1590 that it actually appeared. Meanwhile, in

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[1]) State Papers — Dom. — Eliz. vol. CXCV. The letter is endorsed 'November 1586'.

[2]) E.g. by Dobell, *Quarterly Review*, July 1909, p. 76, and by Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 232—233. Also by Arber, *English Garner*. I, 488.

1588, Abraham Fraunce issued his *Arcadian Rhetorike* [1]), which contains some eighty quotations from Sidney's *Arcadia*. As might be expected, they are taken from the original version; thus Pyrocles in disguise is called Cleophila, not Zelmane.

Few as are these allusions to the *Old Arcadia*, after 1590 they become even rarer. The printed work naturally superseded the manuscripts. Sir John Harington, who translated Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591), refers to the 'first Arcadia' in a note to be quoted in the next chapter. In the 1613 edition there is a reference to 'that first written Arcadia of his, which onely passed from hand to hand, and was never printed.' [2]) Since then, until the year 1909, whenever the *Arcadia* is mentioned, the definitive text of 1593, on which all the later editions are based, is meant; the very fact that an older, rejected version once existed, seems to have been forgotten. [3])

The 1590 Quarto contained the two completed books of the revised version, and a lengthy fragment of a third, the whole preceded by a dedication to the Countess of Pembroke, Sidney's sister. It is natural to infer from the letter to Walsingham that the arrangements with Ponsonby were made by Fulke Greville [4])

[1]) Unique copy in the Bodleian (Malone 514). The tract was entered on the Stationers' Books on June 11, 1588 (see Arber's *Transcript*, II, 492). The Bodleian copy bearing no date, the year of publication is not absolutely certain; the less so as the book bears the imprint of Thomas Orwin, instead of that of Thomas Gubbyn and Thomas Newman, who took out the licence. It must, however, have appeared prior to the publication of the *New Arcadia*.

[2]) See Feuillerat, *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, vol. II, p. 350.

[3]) In 1888, Emil Koeppel wrote an account of Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetorike* in the Xth volume of *Anglia* (p. 522 ff). He is convinced that Fraunce took his numerous quotations, not from the printed editions of the *Arcadia*, but from 'handschriftlichen aufzeichnungen', and thinks that he must have had access to good, reliable manuscripts — possibly Sidney's own. With respect to a sonnet quoted by Fraunce, but absent from the Quarto and First Folio, he merely observes that we know from Harington that the editors of the *Arcadia* did not print all the poems in the mss. Of the real state of things Koeppel seems to have had no inkling.

[4]) This conclusion is borne out by a passage in the dedication of a ms. translation of part of Montemayor's *Diana* by Thomas Wilson, in which the translator, addressing Fulke Greville, speaks of the *Arcadia*, 'wch by yor noble vertue the world so hapily enjoyes'. See *Quarterly Review*, July 1909, p. 77, note, or Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 148.

with the consent of Sidney's widow. In 1593 the same publisher printed a Folio edition, containing, besides the work as already issued, a conclusion consisting of the three last books of the original version. This time the Countess of Pembroke appears to have been responsible for the publication. In a preface 'To the Reader' her motive for the undertaking is stated to have been 'the disfigured face..... wherewith this worke not long since appeared to the common view'; in other words, she accuses the 'overseer' of the Quarto of bad editing. It is usual among writers on the subject to assume that Lady Pembroke made this charge without due cause. As we shall see, a careful examination of the two texts goes to prove that it was not entirely unfounded.

For our present purpose, we are not concerned with the subsequent history of the *Arcadia* as a printed work. [1]) As already stated, that of the *Old Arcadia* is a blank for nearly three centuries. Early in 1907, however, the late Bertram Dobell, bookseller, purchased in a London auction-room a manuscript copy of the *Arcadia,* which on closer examination proved to be an independent and unknown version of the story. A few months later another ms. copy was offered for sale, and likewise acquired by Dobell; and in the early part of 1908 he was fortunate enough to lay hands on a third.

Dobell wrote an account of his acquisitions for the *Quarterly Review* of July 1909. ('New Light upon Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia'.') This article is the starting-point of the subsequent discussions on the two forms of Sidney's romance.

The various points made by Dobell in his article will be dealt with in the course of our argument. One sentence has to be quoted here: 'I have no doubt, however, that from a collation of the three manuscripts, and a comparison with the printed editions, a satisfactory text of the work in its original form can be derived; and it is to be hoped that such a text will soon be published.' No such collated text has hitherto been issued; and the difficulties in the way of the undertaking have increased since Dobell wrote his essay. Two of the mss. purchased by him are now in

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[1]) For a list of editions, see the Introduction to Sommer's facsimile of the 1590 Quarto, and the Notes on pp. 522—523 of Feuillerat's edition, volume I.

America; the third, and three others that have since come to light, remain in England.

In 1926 Albert Feuillerat printed one of the American manuscripts as volume IV of his edition of the Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney. In a prefatory note he states that the dispersion of the mss., 'and several other reasons which one can easily guess', had rendered a collation of the other mss. impossible. 'I have, however, ascertained that the list of variants which could have been gathered would not have been worth the trouble and cost involved.'

### *Dates of Composition.*

It is usually stated that the *Arcadia* was written in the year 1580, and as an approximate date this may accepted. We have no precise information as to when either version was begun, nor when the original version was completed. Contemporary statements on the matter seem contradictory. Molineux places the composition of the first *Arcadia* 'not long after his returne from that iornie, and before his further imploiment by hir maiestie.' The journey referred to is the embassy to Germany, from which Sidney returned shortly before June 10, 1577. Molineux may, therefore, mean that the romance was written in the latter half of that year, though his words are too vague to allow of any definite conclusion. [1]) On the other hand, the title of one of the manuscripts of the *Old Arcadia* (the Phillips Ms.) states that the 'treatis' was 'made in the yeer 1580'. This dating is, perhaps, supported by a sentence in a letter written by Sidney to his brother Robert on October 18, 1580, running: 'My toyfull booke I will send with Gods helpe by February'. The expression 'toyfull booke' can hardly apply to any other of Sidney's works than the *Arcadia*. If this assumption is correct, the question remains whether the reference is to the original or to the revised version. According to Fulke Greville, the latter was 'done 4 or 5 years

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[1]) Moreover, in the paragraph preceding his note on the *Arcadia*, he states that at the time of his embassy, Sidney was 'not aboue one and twentie yeres old'. As a matter of fact, Sidney was twenty-two. The slip hardly increases our confidence in Molineux's chronology.

sinse', i.e. in 1582 or 1581.[1]) Taking all these statements together, one can only conclude that the *Old Arcadia* was written some time between 1577 and 1581.

It would seem possible to narrow down these limits by the help of Sidney's own statement in the dedication prefixed to the Quarto of 1590, to the effect that most of the work was done in the presence of his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke. As a matter of fact we know that in 1580 Sidney spent a good deal of time at Wilton, the Earl's country seat, and this circumstance has generally been held to settle the date of composition. It must be pointed out, however, that this apparently plain argument is less cogent than it looks. Firstly, to those who advance it, the *Arcadia* means the *New Arcadia;* and the letter is now generally believed to refer to the *Old*. Secondly, Sidney had stayed at Wilton as early as 1577; and, on the other hand, Mary would doubtless sometimes reside with her husband at Baynard's Castle, the Earl's town house.[2]) The date 1577, moreover, seems to jump with Molineux's statement.

Among modern writers on the subject the earlier date has actually found adherents. Dobell expresses himself as follows: 'From the juvenility of style and tone of the 'Arcadia', I am inclined to think that it was commenced at an earlier date than is usually supposed — perhaps even as early as 1578, though it was probably not finished before 1580. Sir Philip probably began to remodel and revise his work soon after he had completed the first draft; and it seems likely that the work of revision was continued at intervals until he went to the Netherlands.'[3]) Dobell does not give his grounds for thus spreading Sidney's work on the *Arcadia* over the last eight years of his life, apart from the 'juvenility of style and tone of the *Arcadia,*' by which, presumably, he means the *Old Arcadia*.

In chapter II of his book on the *Arcadia*, Friedrich Brie makes an attempt to settle the point once for all. He combines Molineux's statement and the dedication of the Quarto with Sidney's

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[1]) At least this is how I interpret Greville's words. Wallace, *Life*, p. 233, seems to apply the words to 'that old one'; I think they refer to 'a correction'.

[2]) Cf. Wallace, *Life*, p. 189.

[3]) l.c. p. 82.

short stay at Wilton in 1577, in order to prove that the original version was begun in that year, and finished in the same year or, at the very latest, in the next. For further support of his theory he urges that Howell's complaint: 'But all to long, thou hidste so perfite worke', written in 1581, could hardly apply to a work composed only the year before. The argument does not sound very convincing; no more do those that follow. For instance, he suggests that the juvenility of the two heroes points to an early date of composition. This is certainly a very curious test; besides, the ages of Pyrocles and Musidorus as quoted by him from the *New Arcadia* actually differ from those assigned to them in the first draft. What is perhaps more important, if refutation is needed, is that the age of heroes of romance was largely a matter of literary tradition; as Tieje [1]) remarks: 'In general, heroes are eighteen.'

At the end of the chapter we find that we have all the time been listening to a piece of special pleading. Brie points out that, if we assume the *Arcadia* to have been composed as early as 1577-1578, it takes precedence of both *Euphues* and *The Shepheardes Calender*. Sidney, rather than Lyly or Spenser, thus appears to usher in the great era of the English renaissance. Brie does not seem to realize that, so far from reinforcing it, this conclusion renders his whole argument extremely suspect. It is significant, moreover, that he mentions neither the title of the Phillips Ms., which was accessible to him in Dobell's article, nor Sidney's own reference to his 'toyfull booke' in the letter to his brother.

Premising, therefore, that the available evidence admits of no positive conclusion, we think it is fairly safe to say that the *Old Arcadia* was composed, or at any rate completed, in 1580. As to the *New Arcadia*, Greville's statement seems to point to the years 1581 or 1582. If we take his words literally, the work was laid aside unfinished some four years before Sidney's death.

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[1]) *The Theory of Characterization in Prose Fiction prior to 1740* (1916). Note 60.

*The Manuscripts of the Old Arcadia.*

1. **Phillips MS.** British Museum, Additional Ms. 38892. Quarto; ff. i + 202. Vellum binding. This ms. is mentioned as early as 1836, in Thorpe's sale catalogue, lot 1171. Thorpe gives the title of the ms.: 'A treatis made by Sir Phillip Sydney, Knyght, of certeyn accidents in Arcadia, made in the yeer 1580 and emparted to some few of his frends in his lyfe tyme and to more sence his unfortunat deceasse'; adding: 'in prose and verse, 4to., 400 pages, neatly written, 3l. 13s. 6d.' This is followed by a eulogy of Sidney within quotation marks. There is not the slightest intimation that the ms. differs from the printed version.

The ms. apparently passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., part of whose library was sold at Sotheby's, 15—18 June 1908. It forms lot 677 of the sale catalogue. The title is again reproduced, with the addition: 'valuable MS. of the time of Q. Elizabeth, original vellum cover. 4to. XVI Cent.' A pencil note in the margin of the B. M. copy of the catalogue mentions price and purchaser: '£ 119 Dobell'.

This time the ms. had found a buyer who, guided by his experience of the year before (see p. 4) recognized its real identity. In March 1914, Dobell offered it for sale again. The catalogue (no. 228, lot 108) contains a description, with extracts from his *Quarterly Review* article, and a reduced facsimile of the first page of the manuscript. It was purchased by the British Museum; the sale catalogue gives the price as £ 185.

In the Prefatory Note to his edition of the *Old Arcadia* Feuillerat has confused this ms. with one owned at the time by the late Miss M. E. Davies, which is now likewise in the B. M. (See below, no. 6).

The ms. appears to be the work of at least two different scribes; there are a few alterations (e.g. on f 85v. and f 89v.) in a later hand. Fol. 90 is followed by two blank pages. The copyist has resumed work on f. 91v., with the result that a portion of the text corresponding to p. 170, l. 1—p. 171, l. 28 in Feuillerat's edition, vol. IV, is wanting. Single words are also frequently omitted or misspelled.

This ms. will henceforth be referred to as *Ph.* [1])

[1]) Feuillerat having used the capitals A—M to indicate the printed editions in folio, I have had to denote the mss. by means of *two* letters.

2. **Bodleian MS.** Bodleian Library, Ms. è Mus. 37. Folio; ff. i + 247. Calf binding. A leaf is missing after fol. 241. The unprinted index catalogue states: 'Apparently acquired between 1655 and 1660.'

This ms., too, is in more than one hand. It has the same title as the one printed by Feuillerat (see below, no. 4). Fol. 237—246 contain: 'Certein lowse Sonnettes and Songes.' On the verso of fol. 246, top:

*Phillipus Sydney miles* venerosus (qu. g?)
[In English hand, blurred].

Underneath, a little to the right:

*Virtus praestantior armis* (?)
*R. M.* [blurred.] } English hand.

Below this:

*Sydney* [Italian hand, blurred.]

At bottom, ꓤ ↄ
It. hand: *ɐɯ ɐɔɐs poв* ○

There are some points in these inscriptions on which it would be tempting to speculate; the principal being a striking resemblance between the handwriting of the name *Sydney* and its bearer's signature. This and the circumstance that the ms. offers a better text than most of the others prompts the question whether it may not be a direct transcript of Sidney's autograph; the possibility of which it would be unwise either to affirm or to deny.

This ms. will be referred to as *Bo*.

3. **Queen's College MS.** Library of Queen's College, Oxford, R. 38/301. The *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie adservantur* has this entry: 'Queen's C. 301: Codex chartaceus, in folio, ff. 138, sec. XVII. The countess of Pembroke's Arcadia by Sir Philip Sidney.' Actually, the volume consists of seven preliminary leaves, the rest in sets of six, each set being numbered on the first folio, 1, 2, etc., up to 24; 23 and 24 unnumbered. Fol. 6—12 are numbered as such; set 3 is not numbered. Leaves torn out at end. One set of six (at least) and two leaves have been misplaced in binding,

so that set 19 precedes 18, and the fourth folio of set 13 precedes the third. No title.

The text, apparently the work of more than one copyist, is very faulty, especially so after the first five leaves. On the first preliminary leaf, recto, there is written what looks like the draft of a letter:

'Mr Tho. Baude [1]) these (?) hauing bin brought out of Holland into Ingland farre from his parents after one yeares service w$^{th}$ the right Honorable the Lord Sauoy [2]) was cast away utterly forlorned And Going over to his owne countrye againe was taken by the Dunkarcks w$^{th}$all his Goods. Kept in prison 2 months 8 dayes till hee was reprived by his prince of Holland: this testifying and alleging to be true by certaine letters patent to the king of England and the said Lord. These August 16 1636: the 12 yeare of our raigne.

Thomas Sauoy [3])

Giuen at Whitehall the 14
of July 1636
Ed Dorset

According to information received from the Librarian of Queen's College, there is no record of how the ms. came to the college, nor do the persons mentioned in the document copied on to the fly-leaf appear to have been among its members.

At the end of the first Eclogues, the Queen's College MS. contains a passage which occurs in none of the others, viz. an excursus on the relative merits of rimed accentual and rimeless quantitative verse. It is of considerable interest for the history of the controversy on classical *versus* native English verse-forms, which was occupying Sidney's mind as well as that of many contemporary poets and critics. [4]) It is difficult to account for the presence of the passage in this ms., and its absence in all the others. The text is as corrupt as most of the rest of the volume, and cannot, therefore, be an insertion by the copyist.

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[1]) Cancel: Adrian Bubbe.

[2]) Cancel: Berkeley.

[3]) Cancel: G. Berkeley.

[4]) See R. B. McKerrow in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, Dec. 1901 and April 1902.

After the words 'offered unto yt' (see Feuillerat, vol. IV, p. 86, l. 13), the ms. continues:

'but amonge the beste singers of the Sheppardes who had in their youthe bine broughte up in some arte to helpe, the naturall benefitt of yt country muses their grewe a controversie whether this last kinde of verses, wherin euery silable is measured, or the other that ar closed upp in a ryme, were the more com dubble [1]) *Ditus* [2]) likinge the measured And *Galus* [3]) the riminge *Dicus* sayd that since verses had the cheif ormament if not one [4]) in musicke, those that weare iuste apropriated to musicke did agree wth musick, since musick standinge principally uppon the sounde and the qualite to [5]) to aunswere the sounde thay broughte woordes to aunswere the qualitie thay broughte measure, so that for every sembreif [6]) or myñom [7]) yt had his silables matched acordingely, wth a longe foote and a short foote whereon drewe thay many names a [8]) *Dacteles sponcteas trocheus* etc. and wthout wrestinge ye worde did kindlye accompanye the time So that eyther by the time a poet shoulde knowe how every worde should be measured unto yt, or by the verse assone finde out the full quantitie of ye musicke, besides that yt hathe in yt self a kinde of musicke, since by ye measure one may perceave some verses roninge wth a highe note, fitt for great matters some wth a lighte foote fitt for noe greater then Amorous conceites where sayd he theis Rymes (we coñonly use) observinge nothinge but the company of silables, as to make yt of 8. 10. or 12 feete) savinge perchaunce that some haue some care of the Accente) the musick findinge yt confused is forced sometyme to make a qualitie of that wch is roofe [9]) and heavye in the mouthe and another time he woulde up in a longe, that wth beinge perchaunce but a lighte vowell woulde be good wth a breathe [10]) and for all this comes at lengthe, a sincke tincke Lirñ and Blirñ for a riminge recompence muche like them, that havinge not skill to daunce (proportinge eyther slowlye or swiftlye his feete accordinge to his eare) will yett for felowshippe clapp his feet togeather to make a noyse, and this is the cawse wee haue suche hives full of [11]) koninge poettes, more then euer weare Owles at Athens wherof thother there were but fewe in all adges com to or hondes, but thay deerely estemed *Lalus* of the other side woulde haue demed [12]) his firste proporcõn [13]), and

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[1]) read: commendable.
[2]) read: Dicus.
[3]) read: Lalus.
[4]) qu: their only one?
[5]) end of one line and beginning of the next.
[6]) i.e. semibreve.
[7]) i.e. minim.
[8]) read: as dactylus, spondeus, trochaeus.
[9]) i.e. rough.
[10]) read: brief.
[11]) but the k may be an R, and the word a mistake for *riminge*.
[12]) read: denied.
[13]) read: proposition.

sayd y$^{t}$ since Musicke broughte a measured qualitie, w$^{th}$ yt therefore y$^{e}$ wordes less needed yt, but as musicke broughte time and measure so theis verses broughte wordes and Ryme, w$^{ch}$ weare fower beauties for thother three & yet to denye further the strenghte of the firste speache, he sayd *Dicus* did muche abuse the dignitie of *Poetrye* to applye yt to musicke since rather Musicke is a servante of poetrye, for by thone the eare onelye, by thother the mynde is pleased and therfore what dothe most adorne wordes leavealed w$^{th}$ a proporcione of nomber, to that musicke be applyed w$^{ch}$ if yt cannot doe yt well, yt is the musicions faulte and not the poettes since the poett dothe moste directe his studyes and therfore is called the populer philosopher and yet in the fynest Judgment, shall haue more pleasure since that he [1]) rimes observes some thinge the measure, but muche the ryme wheras other attendes onely measure, w$^{th}$out all respecte of Ryme besides the accent w$^{ch}$ the rymer dothe speaciallye regard of w$^{ch}$ the former hathe lyttle or none, And therfore *Lalus* me semes Rather, those kinde of Poetes are suche manner of dauncers w$^{ch}$ not findinge them to retorne to o$^{r}$ radence [2]) are euer lickinge [3]) of theire heeles and leave the pleasaunte observacōn of y$^{e}$ cheife clause, and thereby the nomber of o$^{r}$ kinde you abate to muche facilitie yet thay y$^{t}$ Will binde the [4]) selues to ryme as the Tuscan and Arcadian shep-pearde [5]) doe you shall not finde the [6]) so thicke. And for the few of the other kinde, the cawse is that many did wryte, But few wrote well and therfore few lasted to the posteritie, And the same no doubte will fale to a greate many and nomber of Rymes w$^{ch}$ dye as sone as thay ar borne and few remayne to com out of wardshipe *Dicus* woulde haue replied to haue shewed his occacōns. But Basilius after he had moderated betwixte them and sayd that in bothe kindes he wrote well that wrote wisely and so bothe commendable'

Here the text rejoins that of the other mss. with 'rose remembring Cleofilas hurte' etc. [Feuillerat, l.c., l. 15].

This ms. will be referred to as *Qu*.

4. **Clifford MS.** In the collection of the late Mr. W. A. White, of New York. This is the one printed by Albert Feuillerat as volume IV of his edition of Sidney's Works. For a description of the ms., see his prefatory note, pp. vi-vii.

There are facsimiles of the first and last folios of the ms. in the *Catalogue of Early English Books*, chiefly of the Elizabethan

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[1]) read: he that.
[2]) qu: cadence?
[3]) qu: kickinge?
[4]) read: them.
[5]) read: -es.
[6]) read: them.

Period, collected by William Augustus White and catalogued by Henrietta C. Bartlett, New York, 1926.

This ms. was the first of those acquired by Dobell, from whom it soon passed into the hands of Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York, who sold it again to Mr. White.

Hereafter denoted as *Cl.*

5. **Ashburnham MS.** In the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. Formerly in the library of the Earl of Ashburnham — Ashburnham Appendix No. CCXLVIII, with book label dated May 1897. In May 1899 it was sold as Lot No. 16 at Sotheby's sale. In 1907 it again came up for sale in the same auction-room, and was purchased by Dobell for £ 70.— Together with the Clifford Ms., it found its way to America and into the library of the late Mr. White, from whom it was subsequently purchased by the Huntington Library.

The ms. at present contains 179 leaves, 12 × 8 ins., numbered from 7—189 in a contemporary hand; the first six leaves are missing. Consequently, the story begins with the words 'To maike so great thoughe vndeserued Judgementes of me' (Feuillerat, vol. IV, p. 11, l. 28). It is written in five different hands. Vellum binding. [1]) See facsimile facing title.

This ms. will be referred to as *As.*

6. **Davies MS.** British Museum, Additional Ms. 41204. Small folio. The text is written on 190 leaves, with four preliminary leaves and three blank leaves at the end. On the third preliminary leaf, verso, in the left hand top corner, is the name *Tho: Martin* (tops of letters cut off). On the recto of the fourth preliminary leaf:

Sr. Philip Sydneys
Arcadia,
A Romance, &c.
In Prose, & Verse.
containing 190 Folios, fairly written on paper.

I bought this Book out of
the Collection of the Late

[1]) I owe these data to the kindness of the Keeper of the MSS. of the Henry E. Huntington Library.

Antiquary Mr. Martin
of Palsgrave Suffolk

Charles Brietzcke

18th: May 1774

Before 1925, the ms. was in the possession of the late Miss M. E. Davies, of Wedderburn House, Hampstead. On her decease in that year it was presented to the British Museum. It has not yet been included in the Catalogue.

Feuillerat has confused this ms. with that from the Phillips Collection. (See above, no. 1.)

I am indebted for particulars about this ms., and for a collation of a considerable number of pages with Feuillerat's edition of *Cl*, to Mr. B. J. Timmer, of Groningen.

This manuscript will be referred to as *Da*.

Of these six manuscripts, *Bo*, as has been already said, contains the best text, that of *Qu* being the worst. As far as a collation of photostats of ff. 7a—13a of *As*, and Mr. Timmer's notes on *Da*, enable me to judge, these mss. are little, if at all, inferior to *Bo*. Dobell, however, who was in a position to collate the whole of *As* with *Ph* and *Cl*, states that both *As* and *Ph* offer an inferior text to that of *Cl*. [1])

*Cl* is not quite so good as *Bo*, yet on account of its practical inaccessibility to European scholars, and of the defect in the beginning of *As*, Feuillerat was well-advised to print it in preference to any of the other mss. In point of accuracy, *Ph* comes between *Cl* and *Qu*.

It is safe to say that none of the six mss. now known represents either Sidney's autograph, or even an accurate transcript of it. Perhaps *Bo* may be looked upon as at any rate a direct transcript; possibly also *As* and *Da*. The others reproduce the original at various removes. It seems likely that at one time there were more copies of the *Old Arcadia* than have come down to us; some may be lying undiscovered in old libraries. A collation of the text of the extant mss. certainly raises a strong

[1]) l.c. p. 81.

presumption in favour of the one-time existence of a number of now missing links. Owing, probably, to their disappearance, the textual interrelations between those that have come to light again are too complicated to construct a pedigree with any approach to certainty.

The establishment of what Dobell calls 'a satisfactory text of the work in its original form' is another matter. Apart from the manuscripts, we possess three valuable sources of information concerning the original text. For the first two books there is the revised version as given in the Quarto of 1590 and in the Folio of 1593; the latter also contains books III—V of the *Old Arcadia*, with various modifications. Another source is Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetorike* (1588), referred to on page 3, which contains some eighty extracts of various length from the original version. Together they cover only a small fraction of the work, but the fact that they have been culled from different parts of the text gives them a value out of all proportion to their mere size. It is interesting to find that in many places where Fraunce's reading differs from *Cl* (Feuillerat's edition), it agrees with *Bo*, and, what is more surprising, with *Qu*. This would seem to suggest that *Bo*, the best ms., and *Qu*, the worst, belong to the same branch of the pedigree, a conclusion which it would, perhaps, be hazardous to press any further. [1]) It may, however, be added that much the same holds good with regard to the three books included in the Folio of 1593, and reprinted in volume II of Feuillerat's edition. In numerous instances the text of the latter agrees with *Bo*, *Qu* and *Ph*, as against *Cl*.

The editor of a critical text of the *Old Arcadia* will naturally take Feuillerat's edition of the Clifford MS. as his starting-point. On a rough computation this manuscript contains about fifteen hundred mistakes, [2]) not including some two hundred major and

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[1]) The *Arcadian Rhetorike* being in the Bodleian Library, I have only collated its extracts with *Bo*, *Qu* and *Cl*.

[2]) This estimate is based on a word-for-word collation of the first twenty-two pages of Feuillerat's edition of *Cl* with the other mss. (see pp. 19-21). The result has been some 27 emendations really affecting the sense, and some 46 others of minor importance; an average, therefore, of about one and two per printed page respectively. (These figures do not include a great many variant readings in the other mss., which are not necessarily more authentic

minor errors corrected by Feuillerat. Of the main body, a large proportion are revealed by a collation of the printed text of *Cl* with the corresponding portions of the 1590 and 1593 editions of the *Arcadia*. As, however, textual differences between the two versions do not always prove corruption in the original, it is often necessary to turn to the other mss. for corroborative evidence. Lastly, a great many errors can only be detected by a collation of *Cl* with the other copies of the original text.

Though a total of fifteen hundred errors in a manuscript which has been printed without a list of variants may seem a rather appalling figure, the matter is not, fortunately, quite so serious as it looks. For one thing, a good many of them, though evidently departures from the original text, are such as do not materially disturb its meaning. On page 7, line 7, Feuillerat's edition has: 'a fewe wordes, howe they came hether, will not bee superfluous'. *Ph, Bo, Qu* and *Da* all read: 'a few(e) *more* wordes', etc. On the same page they agree in writing 'to attaine his perfections' as against 'to attayne *to* his perfections' of *Cl* (ll. 14-15). Such variants are clearly of little importance, and they probably form two thirds of the whole.

Discounting these, we are left with an average per printed page of about one error of real importance, at any rate for the prose; the average for the poetry is higher. Some of them can be rectified with the help of the Quarto or the first Folio. Thus 'nowe tryall' (Feuillerat, vol. IV, p. 4, l. 30) should be 'newe tryall' (vol. I, p. 24, l. 33); '*my* myrthe' (vol. IV, p. 28, l. 38) should be '*any* myrthe' (vol. I, p. 87, l. 24); 'A *Litle* feelde' (vol. IV, p. 55, l. 15) should be 'A *Lillie* field' (vol. I, p. 128, l. 9); 'fainte' (vol. IV, p. 89, l. 2) should be 'faulte' (vol. I, p. 147, l. 8); and so forth. Others require corroborating by reference to the other mss.; e.g., when *Cl* (Feuillerat, vol. IV, p. 53, l. 24-25) has: 'brought his servāt *Dorus* in good acqueyntance of them' — the insertion after the word 'acqueyntance' of '*and allowance*' in the *New Arcadia* (vol. I, p. 126, l. 12) does not necessarily mean that *Cl* is at fault — until we find that *Ph, Bo* and *Da* read: 'in

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than *Cl*). For the poetry, however, the averages are much higher than for the prose. As Feuillerat's edition of the *Old Arcadia* runs to 389 pages, fifteen hundred errors is probably not far from the truth.

good acquayntance *and allowance* of them'; *Qu:* 'in good acquaintaunce *& all alowance* of them'. Obviously, it is not a case of insertion, but of omission.

Lastly, there are a number of errors in such parts of Books I and II of the original version as have not been incorporated in the revised *Arcadia,* so that they can only be detected with the help of the other manuscripts. For instance, *Cl* (Feuillerat, IV, 52, 8) reads: 'the unhappy pursuite of theyre *afflictions*'; *Ph, Qu, Bo* and *Da* all have '*affection(e)s*', which at once turns nonsense into sense.

The following is a rather striking example. *Cl* (Feuillerat IV, 53, 6-8) reads: 'whilest hee [viz. Basilius] satt him self downe, having on the one syde the *Duchess,* but of his hart syde the faire *Cleophila,* whose eyes seemed to have chaunged sighte with *Philocleas* eyes' etc. This seems all right; yet *Ph, Qu, Da* and *Bo* tell a different story.

| *Ph* | *Qu (= Da)* | *Bo* |
|---|---|---|
| ...the fayre Cleophila to whome bothe w$^{th}$ foote and hand (for as yet his tongue was not come to a throughe boldnes) he sought to [± *2 inches from beginning of line blank*] of his passyons lytle marked of Cleophila whose eyes..... | ...the fayre Cleofila, to whome speakinge in lookes for as yet his tonge was not come to a thorough boldenes he soughte to sende the firste herawdry [herawldrie *Da*] of his passiones, lyttle marked [of *Da*] Cleofila whose eyes..... | ...the fair Cleofila. To whome speaking in lookes for as yet his toung was not come to a thorow boldnes he sought to send the first embassade of his passions, litle marked of Cleofila whose eies..... |

It will be clear that the copyist of *Cl* committed a mistake very common with copyists and compositors: after he had written '... the faire *Cleophila...*', his eye, returning to the page he was transcribing, caught the second '*Cleophila*' a little further on, with the result that he skipped the thirty intervening words. Where the copyist of *Ph* got his 'both w$^{th}$ foote and hand' is harder to explain. The handwriting of his model must have been rather crabbed, so that he could not make out the 'herawdry' or 'embassade' or whatever it was his predecessor had written. *Qu* does fairly well for once, except that the writer dropped the preposition 'of' between 'marked' and 'Cleofila'. *Bo* and *Da* alone

are quite satisfactory; the question whether 'embassade' or 'herawldrie' is the authentic reading seems to be decided in favour of the latter by the 'herawdry' of *Qu*.

One more instance must suffice. In an article in the *London Mercury* to be discussed in the next chapter, Mario Praz unfavourably compares the style of the *New Arcadia* with that of the original version, condemning the former on account of its superfluous embellishments. Among his characteristic specimens are the following:

*Old Arcadia* (115, 25): How harde ys yt to bringe shame to owteward Confessyon.....

*1590 Arcadia* (260, 13-14): How harde it is to bring inward shame to outward confession.....

His comment runs: 'Here the word "inward" is entirely superfluous, but helps to balance the sentence according to the rules of rhetorical speech'. This may be true; but, through no fault of Dr. Praz, the charge of needless embellishment will not lie against the revision. One of Abraham Fraunce's extracts happens to include this sentence, with the same wording as that of the *New Arcadia*! This alone would make it sufficiently probable that '*inward* shame' is the original reading; a supposition confirmed by reference to *Bo*, *Qu* and *Da*. As this case shows, it is not entirely safe to base a comparison of the two versions, in point of *style* at any rate, on the printed text of *Cl* alone.

Though for the purposes of this study a considerable number of pages of the six manuscripts have been subjected to a word-for-word comparison, and a few hundreds of suspect readings in the text of *Cl* have furthermore been confronted with *Ph*, *Qu* and *Bo*, it would be out of place as well as impracticable to include in this book an *apparatus criticus* which would belong in a definitive edition only. In order, however, to give an idea of the extent to which the readings of the other manuscripts affect the text of *Cl*, a list of variants for the first twenty-two pages of Feuillerat's edition will be given below. It should be understood that only such variants are included as appear to represent a nearer approach to the original text than the reading of *Cl*. To reproduce all the vagaries of the different copyists would serve no useful purpose. No attempt has been made to emend the punctuation of *Cl*.

Where the other mss. differ among themselves, what is probably the correct reading is put first; when they differ in their spelling of the same word, one spelling has been selected. Page and line numbers after *Cl* refer to Feuillerat's edition, vol. IV. Where an emendation is identical with the reading of the corresponding portion of the *New Arcadia*, a reference is given to page and line of Feuillerat's edition, vol. I. *Fr* denotes a reading of Abraham Fraunce's extracts. Readings of *As* are quoted from *Cl* 11, 28 onwards. Misreadings of *Cl* corrected in Feuillerat's edition are omitted here.

The more important emendations have been marked with an asterisk.

Cl 2, 5 *have;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da *hath.*

Cl 2, 6 *older;* Ph, Qu, Bo *elder;* Da = Cl.

*Cl 3, 7 this *mighty* matter; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da this *weightie* matter.

Cl 3, 35 and so ended his speeche; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da and so ended *he* his speache.

*Cl 4, 17 sowthesaying *Sorcerers;* Qu, Bo, Da soothsaying *sorceries;* Ph = Cl; I, 24, 21 soothsayers; 1593 soothsayings.

*Cl 4, 18 sufficient; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, I, 24, 22 sufficient *guides.*

*Cl 4, 22 stretcheth what; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, Fr, I, 24, 26 stretcheth *to know* what.

*Cl 4, 30 *nowe* tryall; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, I, 24, 33 *newe* tryall.

Cl 5, 13 moste *venemoust;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da most *venemous.*

*Cl 5, 24 Now *further,* recom̃ending; Qu, Bo, Da Now *for the* recommendinge; I, 25, 38 Lastly, *for the* recommending; Ph Now *yow* recommendinge.

Cl 6, 19 *saythe;* Qu, Bo, Da *saide;* Ph = Cl.

Cl 7, 7 a fewe wordes; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da a few *more* wordes.

Cl 7, 14-15 to attayne *to* his perfections; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da to attayne his perfections.

Cl 7, 16 joyned to; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da ioyned *now* to.

*Cl 7, 25-26 his *youngest* sonne; Ph, Bo, Da his *young* sonne; Qu his *younger* sonne.

*Cl 7, 32 they *accoumpting;* Ph, Bo, Da they *accompaniyng;* Qu the *accompaninge* of.

Cl 7, 37-38 Ministers to *theyre* well dooyng; Bo, Da ministers to well doing; Qu ınistres to well doinge; Ph mynisters of well doinge.

Cl 7, 40 after tenne yeares warr having conquered; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da having after tenn yeares warr conquered.

*Cl 8, 7 stirred *to;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da stirred *with.*

*Cl 8, 14 *to* fast; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da *so* fast.

Cl 8, 22 the *more* perfect; Ph, Bo Da the *most* perfect; Qu = Cl.

*Cl 8, 27 lodg*ed;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da lodg*ing*.

Cl 9, 2 answered o*f;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da answered *by*.

Cl 9, 2–3 so muche as; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da *as* much as.

Cl 9, 5 an opinion; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da a *generall* opinion.

*Cl 9, 8 *kinder;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, I, 85, 6 *tender*.

Cl 9, 15 *suche* unwonted sightes; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da unwonted sightes; I, 85, 12 rare sights.

Cl 9, 17 came *to;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, I, 85, 14 came o*f*.

Cl 10, 33 I knowe yt; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da I *do* know yt; I, 55, 14 = Cl

*Cl 10, 35 *his* Contrey; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, I, 55, 16 *this* countrie.

Cl 10, 40 secrett; Ph, Bo, Da, I 55, 20 secreter; Qu = Cl.

*Cl 11, 2 yo$^{w}$ *are;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, I, 55, 23 you *were*.

Cl 11, 14 *more* rather; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da rather.

Cl 11, 14 *the* Duke; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da *this* Duke.

Cl 11, 34 *spake;* Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 56, 13 *speake*.

Cl 11, 39 y$^{e}$ betteringe*s*; Ph, Qu, Bo, I, 56, 18 the bettering; As, Da = Cl.

*Cl 12, 3 I feede my mindes; Ph, Bo, As, I, 56, 22-23 I feed *not* my mind; Qu, Da I fede my minde.

*Cl 12, 18 speake, to; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 56, 39 speake, *and yet desirous to speake,* to.

*Cl 12, 34 *bothe* delightfull bothe; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 57, 13 delightfull both.

Cl 13, 14 *unstedfastnes;* Ph, Bo, As, Da, I, 57, 32 *unstayednes;* Qu = Cl.

Cl 13, 40 sweete; Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 58, 18 sweet*ly;* Ph = Cl.

Cl 14, 20-21 This worde Lover; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da This worde *of* Lover; As, I, 58, 38 = Cl.

*Cl 14, 22 tuche*d;* Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 58, 39 touche*th*.

Cl. 14, 27-28 the Countenaunce; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, I, 59, 4 the *very* Countenance; As = Cl.

Cl 14, 33 whereof yow *spake;* Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 59, 10 whereof yow *speak*.

Cl 14, 36 *that* in suche extremity[1]); Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da *and* in suche extremitie.

Cl 15, 1 the Impression; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da the impression o*f yt;* As = Cl.

Cl 15, 22 eye*n;* Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da eyes.

Cl 15, 22 *good* reason; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da *great* reason; As = Cl.

Cl 15, 33 gathered his spirites; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da, I, 77, 3-4 gathered his spirites *together;* As = Cl.

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[1]) Feuillerat, IV, p. 394, 14, 36: '*That* underlined and *and* written above'. Underlining, in these mss., is the usual way of cancelling. According to Feuillerat, these corrections in the ms. of Cl are by the same hand; presumably, not by the copyist's.

Cl 16, 3 thoughte; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 77, 11 thought *yt*.

*Cl 16, 3 *my*; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 77, 11 *any*.

Cl 16, 10 Prince, *and* of; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da Prynce, of; As, I, 77, 18 = Cl.

Cl 16, 12 nowe so nere home; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 77, 20 now so neare *your* home.

*Cl 16, 12 to *direct*; Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 77, 20 to *diuert*; Ph = Cl.

*Cl 16, 19 *youre* sowle; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 77, 27 *our* sowle.

Cl 16, 26-27 I will not, womanish; Ph, Qu, Fr I will not *is* womanish; Bo, As, Da, I, 77, 34 = Cl.

Cl 16, 31 yf *that* yo$^{w}$; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 77, 39 yf yow.

*Cl 16, 39 barest; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 78, 7 basest.

Cl 17, 2 so *yet*; Qu, As, Da, I, 78, 9 so *yt*; Ph, Bo = Cl.

Cl 17, 17 *founde*; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, I, 78, 23 *seene*; Da = Cl.

Cl 17, 19 hereuppon (I thinck); Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 78, 27 I thinck hereupon.

Cl 17, 34 *with* what kynde; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da *for* what kynde; I, 79, 1 *by* what kinde.

*Cl 18, 4 the unskillfull passinger; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da the unskilfull *wordes of the* Passinger; I, 55, 37-38 the unskilful *words of a* passinger.

*Cl 19, 13 Lust*y* Idlenes; Ph, As, Da, I, 80, 23 Lust, Idlenes; Bo last Idlenes; Qu = Cl.

Cl 19, 25-26 *bee* not the faultes; Ph, Qu, Bo, Da *is* not the faulte; As, I, 80, 35 = Cl.

*Cl 19, 32 the one the Love *o*f yt self; Qu, Bo, Da, I, 81, 1 the one the loue yt selfe; As the one Love it self; Ph the one $^{of}$ Love of yt selfe.

Cl 20, 9 *spake;* Ph, Bo, As, Da, I, 81, 17 *speake;* Qu spoke.

*Cl 20, 11 in *theyre* practize; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 81, 19 in *that* practise.

Cl 21, 7 for Pyrocles sake; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 82, 14 for Pirocles *own* sake.

*Cl 21, 16 *sk*aking; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 82, 22 *sh*aking.

Cl 22, 4 hee had never thoughte, fancy coulde have receyved; Ph, Qu. Bo he had thought fancye could never have Receyved; I, 83, 11-12 he had not thought fancie could have received; As, Da = Cl.

Cl 22, 29 *ob*teyning; Ph, Qu, Bo, As, Da, I, 83, 35 *at*tayning.

## *The Quarto of 1590.*

The text of this, the first edition of the *New Arcadia*, was reproduced in facsimile by Sommer in 1891, and reprinted by Feuillerat as volume I of his edition of Sidney's *Works* in 1912. In the Notes, Feuillerat has given the variant readings supplied by all the editions from 1593 down to 1674, fourteen in number. Thus any future editor of a critical text will have the necessary materials ready to hand.

As in the case of the original version, the definitive text of the *New Arcadia* will have to show numerous deviations from the *editio princeps*, many of them not without importance. For pp. 5—30, e.g., Feuillerat has registered 125 variants. Of these, 32 occur for the first or only time in the Folio of 1593. Those that are not found there, with the possible exception of four or five, are of no value for a definitive edition. Of the 32 variants in the first Folio, 19 occur in all later editions; *nine* of these are emendations of real importance. [1]) Among the 13 variants that are found in the 1593 Folio only, or in it and in some (not all) subsequent editions, eight are new *mistakes*. The net result, therefore, is about a dozen emendations; not a negligible quantity for twice the number of pages. In the following list, the Folio of 1593 is denoted by A; the other editions by the capitals referring to them in Feuillerat's notes. The Quarto of 1590 is indicated as vol. I (of Feuillerat's edition.)

Vol. I, 6, 27: unto us all; A—M to us.
„ 7, 2: the light; BD—M the sight.
„ 7, 32: them; A—M then.
„ 8, 36-37: *Pyrocles?* therewithall hee offered wilfully to cast destruction & himselfe againe; A—M *Pyrocles* destruction? therewithall hee offered wilfully to cast himselfe againe.
„ 11, 15: nothing to; A—M nothing wherewith to.
„ 12, 16-17: confines. There dwelleth: A—M confines there dwelleth.
„ 17, 21: a thicket bend, behinde; A—M a thicket, and behinde.
„ 18, 23: skill of the; H—M skil on the.
„ 21, 21: These verses; A—M The verses.
„ 24, 21: kind of soothsayers; A—M kindes of soothsayings (cf. p. 19, Cl 4, 17).
„ 26, 25: having lost; A—M having left.
„ 27, 13: as your selfe; B—M as to your selfe.

Compare also the following three serious errors, occurring on as many nearly successive pages of the Quarto:

Vol. I, 118, 22: he, that shewed to be his servant; A—M he, that sued to be.....

[1]) It should be pointed out that of the twenty-six pages here considered, not more than ten or eleven occur in the *Old Arcadia*. For pages 75—91, all of which are taken from the original version, the number of emendations is higher. See p. 25.

Vol. I, 119, 11-13: that (one tree to tree, answering another) they became a gallery aloft from almost round about; A—M that (one answering another) they became a gallery aloft from tree to tree almost round about.

" 121, 21: (evẽ with the contẽpt of courage); A—M ever with the contempt of cowardes.

The address 'To the Reader' prefixed to the 1593 Folio will now appear in its proper light. 'The disfigured face, gentle Reader, wherewith this worke not long since appeared to the common view...' 'Disfigured' is a pretty strong term, and the tone of the letter suggests that relations between the Countess of Pembroke and the editor of the 1590 Quarto may have been strained on other accounts as well — but a text containing such numerous inaccuracies, many of them serious mistakes, could not be regarded as satisfactory, least of all by one who had been closely associated with it from its very beginnings. Nor were the blemishes of the Quarto edition confined to purely verbal errors. As stated in a note prefixed to Book I, Sidney had not completed the revision of the Eclogues. The 'over-seer' had therefore chosen and disposed them as he thought best. He forgot, however, to delete a reference to an incident that occurred in the *Old Arcadia*, but was left out in the *New*. In the original story, when the ladies and the disguised princes are attacked by wild beasts, the cowardly shepherds take flight to the lodge, where they are met by Basilius (Feuillerat, vol. IV, p. 42, l. 34 ff.) After the danger is over, pastorals are held by torchlight, and Basilius 'did with a gentle maner chastize the Cowardize of the fugitive Shepeardes, with making them (for that night) the [1]) Torchebearers' (ib., p. 53. ll. 1-3). In the revised version, there is no reflection on the personal courage of the shepherds, yet the above sentence is allowed to stand (vol. I, p. 126, ll. 5-7). In the 1593 Folio it was duly cancelled.

## *The Folio of 1593.*

When the Countess of Pembroke decided to reprint her brother's work and 'to take in hand the wiping away those spottes wherewith the beauties therof were unworthely blemished', did she obtain any help from the author's manuscript of the

[1]) *Cl* bee.

revised version? According to R. B. McKerrow, [1]) there is no reason to believe that the ms. of a book when once printed from was forthwith destroyed. Both the Quarto and the first Folio were 'printed for William Ponsonbie', so that it is quite conceivable that the copy for the Quarto may have been still in his possession, and at Mary's disposal. As a matter of fact, a great many emendations in the Folio may be explained on this assumption, and some can hardly be explained otherwise.[2])

At the same time, it is highly probable that she collated Books I and II of the *New Arcadia* with an unrevised copy of the original version. The fact that she printed Books III—V of the latter as a sequel to the Quarto text, renders this practically certain; but there is internal evidence as well. The arrangement of the Eclogues in the Quarto, as has been said, was none of Sidney's doing; Mary entirely overhauled them, introducing seven eclogues from the *Old Arcadia* which had been left out of the Quarto. It may be argued that she could have obtained them from separate copies of these poems in her possession, without having recourse to the original version. The fact, however, that some prose paragraphs preceding the eclogues in the Quarto have been restored as well, puts the matter beyond reasonable doubt. It is hardly likely that, even if Mary possessed separate copies of the poems, these should have included the prose paragraphs linking them up with their context in the pastorals.

In the case of a few eclogues occurring in both the original and the Quarto, the text of the latter shows important deviations.

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[1]) *An Introduction to Bibliography* (1927), p. 186, note.

[2]) On page 147 of Feuillerat's reprint of the Quarto, ll. 34-37 read: 'and the more I thinke, the more cause I finde of thinking, but lesse of hoping. And alas, what is then thy harmony, but the sweete meats of sorrow?' [Zelmane is apostrophising 'her' lute.] The Folios omit 'and the more ..... hoping.' Turning to the *Old Arcadia*, vol. IV, 89, 29-31, we find that the words omitted in the Folios are there, but that the next sentence 'And alas ... of sorrow?' is not. A plausible explanation seems to be that the latter was meant by Sidney to replace the sentence in the original version; that the printer of the Quarto by an oversight printed both; and that Mary, on examining the printer's copy, discovered the author's cancel. We are here assuming, what will be further investigated in chapter II, that Sidney made his alterations, as distinct from lengthy additions, on the sheets of a copy of the original version.

The Folio, however, restores the readings of the *Old Arcadia* nearly everywhere. It is unlikely that Mary got these emendations from the copy for the Quarto; the variants are not such as can be explained as printer's errors. [1]) The fact that she preferred the readings of the original version to those printed from Sidney's autograph revision seems to show that she suspected the latter to have been tampered with.

As regards the text of the romance apart from the eclogues, it is very striking that, where the two versions correspond, the majority of the emendations of the Folio agree with the *Old Arcadia* as against the Quarto. The following list contains those occurring on six successive pages of Feuillerat's edition, volume I. As the variants themselves are of less importance here than their frequency, they are not reproduced, but may be ascertained from Feuillerat's notes. Instead, references are given to the corresponding places in the *Old Arcadia* (Feuillerat, vol. IV).

I, 75, 21—IV, 23, 26; I, 75, 29—IV, 23, 33; I, 77, 40—IV, 16, 32/33;
I, 77, 40—IV, 16, 33; I, 78, 3—IV, 16, 36; I, 78, 10—IV, 17, 3;
I, 78, 11—IV, 17, 4; I, 79, 29—IV, 18, 25; I, 80, 37—IV, 19, 28;
I, 80, 38—IV, 19, 29; I, 81, 15—IV, 20, 7; I, 82, 19—IV, 21, 13;
I, 82, 20—IV, 21, 13; I, 83, 2—IV, 21, 36; I, 83, 4/5—IV, 21, 38; [2])
I, 83, 36—IV, 22, 30; I, 84, 1—IV, 22, 36; I, 85, 21—IV, 9, 24;
I, 85, 24—IV, 9, 28; I, 85, 27—IV, 9, 30; I, 88, 20—IV, 31, 33;
I, 88, 40—IV, 32, 21; I, 89, 39—IV, 33, 21; I, 90, 2—IV, 33, 23;
I, 90, 35—IV, 34, 18; I, 91, 4—IV, 34, 29; I, 91, 6—IV, 34, 31.

The identity of these emendations with the readings of the *Old Arcadia* does not, of course, preclude the possibility that they may represent the readings of the copy for the Quarto as well. The latter appears to have been set up rather carelessly, and the proof-reader apparently did his work no better than the compositor. Yet a case like the omission at I, 83, 4/5 can hardly

[1]) Cf., e.g., *Old Arcadia*, vol. IV, p. 59, l. 12—p. 60, l. 4, with *New Arcadia*, p. 131, l. 12—p. 132, l. 4, and with Feuillerat's notes on the latter.

[2]) This is an interesting case. The *Old Arcadia* reads: '... and Crossing his armes over his wofull harte hee sancke downe to the grounde'. After *harte* the Quarto inserts: 'as if his teares had beene out-flowing blood, his armes an over-pressing burthen.' The addition seems hardly an improvement, and it was cancelled in the Folio. Are we to conclude that Mary looked upon it as a lapse of taste on her brother's part, or (what is perhaps more likely) as an unwarranted interpolation by the editor of the Quarto?

be explained without assuming a collation with the original version. One fails to see, indeed, why the Countess of Pembroke should not have made use of the autograph ms. of the *Old Arcadia*, which had been in her possession ever since it was written, [1]) whereas that of the revised version had been four years in strange hands before it was printed.

Whether, however, she collated the copy for the Quarto or the original version or both, it can no longer be maintained that her criticism of the edition of 1590 was unjustified. But for her efforts, [2]) all later editions would probably have reproduced a text teeming with inaccuracies, great and small. Readers of the revised *Arcadia* in Sommer's or Feuillerat's edition will do well to bear this in mind.

It would be pleasant if we could here take leave of the editor of the first Folio with the restoration of her brother's work to her credit; unfortunately, there is a debit side to the account as well. It has already been observed that among the variants for the first twenty-six pages of volume I of Feuillerat's edition, eight are new mistakes, which subsequent editors had to remove again; the number of real emendations being just one higher. Though the proportion is more favourable in other parts of the work, there is a fair sprinkling of fresh errors throughout. Some of these indeed, managed to effect a permanent lodgment. For instance, the first Folio is responsible for the corruption of *deposition* (vol. I, p. 13, l. 33) into *disposition;* the correct reading was restored by B (1598), D (1605) and E (1613), but *disposition* got into C (1599), which was probably printed from the first Folio, and into all editions from F (1621) onwards. As

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[1]) See the dedicatory letter prefixed to the printed editions.

[2]) Part of the work — perhaps the greater part — was no doubt done by the H. S. who signed the address *To the Reader*, and who has been identified by Wallace (*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 234) with Henry Sandford, secretary to the Earl of Pembroke. In Sandford's own words, the Folio was prepared for press 'most by her doing, all by her directing'. If Sandford is to be given his share of the credit for having corrected the Quarto text, a good many errors in the Folio may also have to be laid at his door. But since, after all, the Countess of Pembroke was responsible for the whole work, she only is here referred to as editor.

ill chance would have it, the error occurs in the most quoted passage of the whole romance, the idyllic description of Arcadia in the early part of Book I (chapter 2 in the Quarto). The sentence in question runs as follows: 'thickets, which being lined with most pleasāt shade, were witnessed so to by the chereful depositiō of many wel-tuned birds.' *Depositiō* is, of course, used in the sense of sworn evidence,[1]) and *to* is a preposition belonging to *witnessed*. To a reader of any of the later Folios, the sentence must have been unintelligible. As a matter of fact, this is what has become of it in an article on 'The Prose of Poets' in *The Academy*, 21 December, 1901 (pp. 615—616): 'thickets, which being lined with most pleasant shade, were witnessed so, too, by a cheerful disposition of many well-tuned birds.' The change of *to* into *too* hardly makes better sense, but seems to show that the writer of the article felt there was something wrong, and, as sometimes happens in such cases, by trying to mend matters only contrived to make them worse.

It is doubtful, too, whether the Folio editor rendered readers of the *New Arcadia* a service by omitting the 'division and summing of the Chapters' which the 'overseer' of the Quarto had thoughtfully provided. The fact that they were admittedly 'not of Sir *Philip Sidneis* dooing' was probably sufficient reason for her to cancel them.

The most telling illustration of Mary's editorial methods and capacities is afforded by her handling of the three books from the *Old Arcadia* which she added to her reprint of the *New*. The text of the manuscript she used was in many respects superior to that of the one printed by Feuillerat; as has been stated, its readings often agree with *Bo*, *Ph* and *Qu*, as against *Cl*. On the other hand it contained a number of inferior readings as well. But apart from this, Mary's editing of the additional books was far from blameless. Several passages and expressions in the latter had to be altered in accordance with changes of names and incidents in the books of the revised version. In many cases this was duly done, but in others omitted. We have seen that the editor of the Quarto in one important instance forgot to make

[1]) Cf. p. 259, ll. 38-39, same volume: 'But Love streight stood up & deposed, that a lie could not come from the mouth of *Zelmane*.'

a necessary alteration; Mary, however, committed this oversight not once but many times. In the *Old Arcadia* Basilius is a *duke*, in the *New Arcadia* he is called *king*. Mary forgot to alter the title no less than eight times (see Feuillerat, vol. II, p. 18, l. 36, p. 19, l. 40, p. 20, l. 8, p. 46, l. 30, p. 95, l. 19, p. 204, l. 32. p. 205, l. 2, p. 206, l. 32). *Kerxenus* was printed instead of *Kalander* on p. 202, l. 3, and p. 204, l. 39; *Cleofila* instead of *Zelmane* on p. 206, l. 4. As we shall see in our next chapter, the *Old Arcadia* is full of apostrophes to the 'faire Ladies' for whom the romance was originally written, and of passages where the author speaks in his own person; all of these were cancelled in the revision. The first Folio, however, has *faire Ladies* on p. 51, l. 12, and the pronoun of the first person at least six times (p. 18, l. 30, p. 28, ll. 2-3, p. 36, l. 36, p. 41, l. 29, p. 82, l. 5, p. 86, l. 30).

These cases concern verbal alterations only; but there is more. In the *Old Arcadia*, vol. IV, p. 350, ll. 37-38, we read that '*Musidorus* was in stature somuche hyer then *Pyrocles*, as comonly ys gotten by one yeares growthe'. This is left unaltered in the Folio (vol. II, p. 170, ll. 4-6), though in the revised version (vol. I, p. 190, ll. 20-21) Sidney had increased the difference of age between the two princes to 'three or foure yeares.'

The following case is rather interesting. As will be shown, Mary, so far from faithfully reprinting the original version with only such alterations as the revised books rendered necessary, subjected it to a good deal of bowdlerizing. In the *Old Arcadia* Pyrocles, for offering violence to Philoclea, is sentenced to be thrown down from a high tower; Musidorus, for abducting Pamela, to be beheaded. In Mary's text, Pyrocles offers no violence but only wishes to carry off Philoclea, so that the two princes are 'equallie culpable.' Pyrocles' attempt is sooner frustrated than that of Musidorus, but 'the wil by the rules of justice standeth for the deed.' 'For though they ravished them not from themselves, yet they ravished them from him that owed them, which was their father.' (Vol. II, p. 196, ll. 27-28, 29-31). The former sentence is Mary's; the latter she took from the *Old Arcadia* (vol. IV, p. 378, ll. 18-20), with this difference that Sidney wrote *he* and *her* where the Folio has *they* and *them*, the original sentence applying to Musidorus and Pamela only.

Having thus equalled the crimes, Mary should of course have meted out equal punishment as well. But — Musidorus is to be beheaded, Pyrocles to be thrown from a high tower, just as in the unbowdlerized version!

Before the discovery of the manuscripts of the *Old Arcadia* it was impossible to say in how far the three books added in 1593 represent Sidney's own text, and in how far, if at all, they bear traces of his sister's interference. In his article in the *Quarterly Review*, Dobell gave an account of the differences between the first Folio and the manuscripts, which, however, is neither complete nor accurate. It will, therefore, be desirable to examine the matter in some detail.

In the mss., the third book of the *Arcadia* opens with Cleophila (= Pyrocles) taking (Musi)Dorus to the place where 'she' had first revealed 'her' passion for Philoclea. In the Folio, the revised third book narrates the war with Cecropia, and the unrevised third book which immediately succeeds it, naturally begins with a reference to the safe return of Basilius' daughters. Dorus meets Zelmane (Pyrocles' incognito in the revised version) in a little arbour. Fifteen lines follow in which the Folio and the mss. are practically identical; but then there is a cut in the Folio corresponding to page 159, l. 26 — p. 163, l. 13 of the *Old Arcadia* (Feuillerat, vol. IV). The passage omitted contains some banter between the two friends; Cleophila calls Dorus a 'Schoole Master' lacking a living and so driven to shepherdry; Dorus returns the compliment by styling Cleophila a 'Counterfeit Curtizan'. Apparently, Mary thought this too frivolous. She also omitted a song by Dorus on a glove of Pamela's, one by Dorus on the merchant man glad in sight of the harbour, and one by Cleophila on the merchant man jeopardized in sight of the harbour. Next Dorus, at Cleophila's request, tells 'her' how Pamela had gradually relented towards him; this, as not in accordance with the revised version [1]) was properly cancelled. Only the conclusion, viz. that Pamela had 'condiscended' (this word is Mary's and quite in keeping with Pamela's character in the *New*

[1]) See Chapter II, pp. 74—75.

*Arcadia)* to elope with him, is preserved. Pamela's motives for eloping are retained, with one felicitous addition: 'the chiefest reason had wonne her to this, was the late daunger she stoode in of loosing him, the like whereof (not unlike to fall if this course were continued) she chose rather to dye then againe to undergoe' (vol. II, 2, 8-11). This clearly refers to the Cecropia episode; it is psychologically true, and the reviser is to be given credit for adding a deft feminine touch.

From this point onwards, the Folio and the mss. run parallel again, with a few merely verbal differences, and a number of necessary adaptations. A mention of Basilius' sacrifice to Apollo, which could not be reproduced from the opening of Book III in the mss., is interpolated into the Folio text at p. 4, ll. 28-30.

At page 5, ll. 6-7, corresponding to a place where the mss. merely state that the two princes 'tooke other Names they agreed uppon' (IV, 166, 26-27), the Folio gives these names as Daiphantus and Palladius, in accordance with the revised version. At ll. 11-12 on the same page, a reference to Philoclea's rôle of go-between is omitted, probably because, owing to the Cecropia episode in the *New Arcadia,* too much time had meanwhile elapsed. For the same reason, *'late* experyence' (IV, 166, 37) has become 'his former experience' (II, 5, 13). On page 6, ll. 13-15, 'it was onely ..... And therefore since' occur in none of the mss., and therefore, were probably interpolated; yet somehow they do not read as such. Lines 16-20 again are slightly adapted in agreement with the revised version (cf. IV, 167, 38—168, 1).

There is nothing that calls for remark on pages 7—11, except for a sentence at p. 11, ll. 29-30, which is not in Feuillerat's *Old Arcadia* (IV, 173, 14); it does, however, occur in *Bo, Ph, Qu* and *Da,* so that *Cl* is at fault. On pages 12 and 13, ten lines from the mss. (IV, 174, 30-40) are cut out, in which Sidney wrote in the first person. Only a few words at p. 13, ll. 4-5, have been preserved. At l. 16 a direct address to the reader has been cancelled. The first person is again dropped at p. 16, ll. 6-8 (cf. IV, 178, 8-10). Then, on page 18, we come across the first cases of imperfect adaptation: 'I' is retained in l. 30, and 'the Duke' in l. 36. These errors found their way into all the later folios, together with another 'Duke' at p. 19, l. 40. 'Duchesse', at p. 20, l. 8, however, was only reproduced in the edition of

1599; the other Folios have 'Princesse'. 'Whatsoever', at p. 21, l. 18, instead of 'whosoever' (IV, 183, 30; same in *Ph, Qu, Bo* and *Da)* is another mistake of the first Folio which got into all the later ones.

Pages 22—26 run parallel to the manuscripts. On page 27, however, there is a curious omission. At this point the original version tells how Musidorus, overcome with the sight of Pamela's charms as she lies asleep during their flight, is about to break his promise to respect her chastity, when they are surprised by a band of outlaws. Mary cancelled the incident. 'It is no wonder', says Dobell [1]) 'that a passage so curiously at variance with the general tone of the story, full as it is of high-flown sentiments and of professions of heroic love, should have been suppressed by the Countess of Pembroke.' The remark is true as far as it goes, but one wonders why Dobell saw fit to suggest that it is the only passage of the kind thus suppressed. Mary's puritanism is more than matched by Dobell's belated Victorianism, which made him give a deliberately falsified account of another episode in the *Old Arcadia* that was bowdlerized in the first Folio. But of this anon.

At the top of page 28 the first person was again overlooked. On page 30, line 2, the queen of the Amazons is called *Marpesia* instead of the *Senicia* of the manuscripts, possibly because the latter suggested Gynecia. In the first line of page 32 Mary changed '*others* flattery' (IV, 195, 8) into '*our owne* flattery', probably because she wanted a contrast with '*others* love' in the next line. But the alteration destroys the meaning of the sentence; besides, *Ph, Qu* and *Bo* have '*others* flattery', and this reading was restored in the Folio of 1613.

Apart from a forgotten *I* at page 36, l. 36, and the change of 'what with *the Tumult* the day before' (IV, 201, 18-19) into 'what, with *riding abroade* the day before' (II, 38, 3-4), which is of a piece with those on page 5 already mentioned, there is little that calls for comment up to page 41. In line 17, the words 'and after, (griefe breeding sicknes) of her bed', together with the word 'first' in the preceding line, have been interpolated by the editor of the Folio, to prepare the reader for her version of Philoclea's conduct in the coming scene with Pyrocles. The same

[1]) l.c. p. 100.

applies to the words 'or..... invention' in l. 27, and to the last ten lines on this page and the first two lines, including 'provided', on the next. They represent the first of a series of alterations in the adventures of Pyrocles and Philoclea, which, as related in the original version, were no longer to Mary's taste. Invention does not seem to have been her strong point, however, for she only turned Pyrocles' procedure into a replica of that of his friend; he resolves to carry off Philoclea, just as Musidorus was about to abduct Pamela. The interpolation in line 27 reads like a kind of apology: 'or that her friendes example had holpen her invention.' — *I* is once more overlooked in line 29.

The next interpolation occurs at page 45, lines 36-38. In the mss. Cleophila promises Basilius a nightly *rendez-vous:* 'There do I graunt yo$^{w}$ as great proportyon as yow will take of free Conference with mee.' (IV, 209, 7-8). The editor deemed it necessary to add a proviso: 'ever remembring you seeke no more, for so shall you but deceyve your selfe, and for ever loose me'.

There is another 'Duke' on page 46, l. 30; the editor of the 1613 Folio, who detected several corruptions, printed 'King', and so did all his successors. On the other hand, on page 49, l. 19, 'as yo$^{w}$ shall presently heare' (IV, 212, 36) has been duly deleted, 'with an unexpected guest' taking its place. The words 'he thought' in line 35, and 'fearing his wife were not fully asleepe, he came' in line 40 are not in Feuillerat's edition of *Cl*, and look like improvements by the Folio editor; until we find that they do occur in *Ph, Qu* and *Bo*.

An apostrophe to the 'faire Ladies' was allowed to stand at p. 51, l. 12. In ll. 39-40, 'to perfourme his entended enterprise' represents Mary's euphemism for 'to satisfy his greedy desyer' of the mss. (IV, 215, 21-22). In plain terms, Pyrocles' purpose in the ms. version is the consummation of his marriage with Philoclea, in defiance of law and custom; and when in the morning the two lovers find themselves caught in Dametas' trap, they are man and wife, though, in order to save her, Pyrocles stoutly proclaims Philoclea's chastity. Such was the story as Sidney wrote it for the delight of his sister and her fair friends; but at least a dozen years had meanwhile elapsed, and besides, there was a difference between the publicity of print and private circulation in manuscript. So the episode was altered in accordance with a sterner view of morality and a laxer view of art.

In the mss. Pyrocles, on entering Philoclea's lodge, locks and bars the door behind him, 'Resolving to wyn full tyme to accomplish his enterpryse, and to have warning ynoughe before they shoulde come at hym'. (IV, 215, 29-31.) In the Folio, the same precaution is taken 'that so he might have full time both for making readye *Philoclea,* and conveying her to her horse, before any might come in to finde them missing.' (II, 52, 6-9). At line 13, six lines from the mss. are omitted, in which Pyrocles' thoughts for a while dwell on Basilius and Gynecia meeting in the cave, and in which his ruse almost appears to him in the light of a practical joke. This time Mary transferred the passage to another context, viz. p. 60, ll. 35-40, where, of course, it produces a different effect.

It is unnecessary to register all the minor alterations made by Mary in refashioning the story; we will only mention the most important. After 'the top of happines' (p. 52, l. 27-28) she inserted six reassuring lines in which Pyrocles is shown to be thinking of his triumphal entry into his capital city, 'geving order for the royall entertayning of *Philoclea,* and for sumptuous shewes and triumphes against their mariage.' Everything is as it should be. On page 57, ll. 9-11: 'what..... going' have been interpolated; so have ll. 29-31: 'who..... wickedly', with the exception of *who* in l. 30. Matters then come to a crisis. In both versions, Pyrocles faints on hearing Philoclea's reproaches. Philoclea, thinking she has killed him, is overcome with remorse. Here the mss. and the Folio part company. In the former, Philoclea cries out: 'I will make *mee* a Tombe of thy memory' (vol. IV, p. 222, ll. 29-30), perhaps a hint at suicide; in the Folio suicide is ruled out; Philoclea will merely entomb her lover's memory in her *soul* (58, 37). At this juncture, in both versions, Pyrocles has a timely recovery. In the mss., he knows how to improve the occasion; his feelings find lively expression in the words of a song which, in the revised version, is ascribed to him in the scene where he watches the two princesses bathing in the river Ladon (I, 218 ff.); and there — '(Fayre Ladyes)' — 'Hee gives mee occasyon to leave hym in so happy a plighte, least my Penn mighte seeme to grudge, at the due Blisse of these pore Lovers, whose Loyalty had but smalle respite of theyre fyery Agonyes'. (IV, 226, 29 & 227, 2-5).

In the Folio there is none of all this. Pyrocles opens his eyes just in time to save Philoclea from falling into a swoon herself; and gently lays her in her bed again. When she is sufficiently recovered to listen to him, he lies down beside her, holding her hand in his, and proceeds to explain his seemingly unkind attitude to her, winding up by entreating her to elope with him. She professes her willingness to follow him, but the effort causes her to faint in real earnest. Pyrocles manages to revive and comfort her, with the result that she drops off to sleep. He now has time to consider the strange pass things have come to; his only hope is fixed on Gynecia keeping her own counsel. Somewhat reassured by this possibility, he too dozes off; and the book closes with a dozen lines taken from a passage in book IV of the mss. (Feuillerat, IV, 293, 28-40), where Musidorus and Pamela are described falling into a troubled sleep during their enforced return to the lodge as the captives of the outlaws.

It is one of the rewards of the minute collation of the Folio text with the manuscripts to find that this anaemic scene was none of Sidney's writing. At the same time it is a pity that Dobell impaired the value of his epoch-making article by a deliberate piece of prevarication. In his account of the story of the manuscripts, he tacitly substituted Mary's version of this episode for Sidney's own![1])

The Folio text of the third eclogues contains a long poem (p. 70, l. 29—p. 73, l. 35) which is wanting in the manuscripts. According to Feuillerat's notes, it was first published by Sir John Harington (*Orlando Furioso*, 1591, note to Book XI, p. 87). From the lines

> 'My song clime thou the winde
> Which holland sweet now gently sendeth in'
> (P. 73 ll. 14-15)

one might venture the supposition that the poem was written during a stay in Holland.

On page 81, three lines of verse have dropped out after line 33; they were restored in E (1613) and in all later editions. On the next page, the first person has again been carelessly retained.

[1]) l.c. p. 88.

The most important alterations in Books IV and V are the direct outcome of Mary's interference with the conclusion of Book III. In Sidney's version, the sequence of cause and effect is perfect. He knew that such bliss as these two lovers had snatched is not in this world enjoyed with impunity. Like a greater one than himself, he understood the ways of the celestial powers:

> 'Ihr führt in's Leben uns hinein,
> Ihr lasst den Armen schuldig werden,
> Dann überlasst ihr ihn der Pein:
> Denn alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden.'

Thus the nineteenth century poet. Here is the sixteenth century romancer:

> 'The Everlasting Justice (using oure selves to bee the punisshers of oure faultes, and making our owne actions the beginninge of oure Chastisement, that oure shame may bee the more manifest, and oure Repentance followe the sooner,) .....' (IV, 247, 2-5) [1]).

The editor of the Folio had deleted the sin, and consequently had to forgo the retribution; thus, for the sake of morality, was the autor's moral purpose made void. This is what the reader is given instead:

> 'The almightie wisedome evermore delighting to shewe the world, that by unlikeliest meanes greatest matters may come to conclusion: that humane reason may be the more humbled, and more willinglie geve place to divine providence : .....' (II, 83, 4-7).

Adulterated stuff! Sidney's exordium, at least part of it, is interpolated on page 119, where the words 'the everlasting Justice' occur again; it is here applied to the outlaws, and replaces an allusion to Musidorus' 'broken vow.'

We need not enumerate every detail of adaptation; but it is significant that a reference to 'the too hye degree of theyre *Joyes*' (IV, 254, 30-31) has been changed into 'the unresistable force of their *sorrowes*' (II, 90, 14-15), just as 'theyre longe paynefull *late pleasaunt* affection' (IV, 269, 19) has become 'their long painefull, and *late most painefull* affection' (II, 103, 1). Similarly, 'Contentment' (IV, 273, 12-13) becomes 'wofulnes' (II, 106, 18). Everywhere the censor has been at work: when in the

[1]) See also facsimile facing title.

early morning Dametas makes his way into the lodge and finds the two lovers asleep, he discovers 'that this same *Cleophila* did more differ from the *Cleophila* hee and others had ever taken her for'; the Folio, in the interest of strict propriety, adds: 'wherein the chaunge of her apparell chiefely confirmed his opinion' (II, 90, 24-25). Even the word 'shirt' is replaced by 'sleight undersute' (*ib.*, ll. 27-28); and, in keeping with these alterations, the words 'Then did *Philanax* sende for apparell for hym, and having arrayed hym delyvered hym.....' (IV, 282, 38-39) are cut down to: 'Then did *Philanax* deliver him.....' (II, 115, 29-30).

A 'sestine' by Agelastus (IV, 265, 9—266, 15) has been transferred to the fourth eclogues (II, 138, 11—139, 15). Philanax's measures for safety after the rebellion (in Book II) which occupy p. 266, l. 23—p. 267, 4 in the *Old Arcadia*, are cut down to four lines (100, 27-31) in the Folio.

At page 269, line 29, of the *Old Arcadia*, Pyrocles awakes, sorry that he has slept at all; thinks of the comical predicament he will presently be in with regard to Basilius and Gynecia; and kisses Philoclea. All the greater is his consternation on finding himself trapped. After the foregoing, these lines are deleted as a matter of course, and another effective touch is lost with them. In the Folio, Pyrocles just awakes, to find that 'his being' (mss. 'all his action') 'with the Lady *Philoclea* was fullie discovered; *& by the follie or malice, or rather malicious follie of Damætas her honour therein touched in the hiest degree.*' (II, 103, 36-39). The italicised words were interpolated by the editor of the Folio; henceforward the two lovers are represented as the victims of slanderous suspicion.

Pyrocles now decides to commit suicide; before doing so, he prays 'unto Jupiter' (IV, 272, 23). Mary deleted these two words, and changed 'O Jove' in ll. 25 and 38 into '(O) Lord' (II, 105, 32 & 106, 4-5), thus producing the incongruity of a suicide invoking the Christian deity! Once more she is defeating her own purpose.

On pages 116 (ll. 18-20 & 39-40) and 117 (ll. 1, 15, 21-22) Philoclea, to appease Philanax's wrath, reminds him of how she had, during the war with Cecropia, saved him from a cruel death at the hands of Amphialus; but he answers that this private benefit is far outweighed by her offence against the laws

of the realm. These allusions are, of course, interpolations by the editor of the Folio, and this time quite justified. Lines 30-32 on page 116, on the other hand, again represent a perversion of Sidney's text. Philoclea's appeal to Philanax: 'And yf yow rightly judge of oure vertuous Mariage whereto oure Innocencyes were the solempnityes, and the goddes them selves ye witnesses, then procure wee may live together' (IV, 283, 39—284, 1) is distorted to: 'If you rightly judge of what hath past, wherein the Gods (that should have bene of our mariage) are witnesses of our innocencies: then procure, we may live together.'

Pages 125—134 of the Folio are particularly rich in verbal deviations from the Clifford ms.; in every case but one the latter is at fault. It may be instructive to give all the instances, especially so as they are not mentioned in Feuillerat's list of errors.

| | |
|---|---|
| IV, 294, 8 the very shyning *sorte* of excellent vertue | II, 125, 38 *force* (= Ph, Qu, Bo, Da). |
| IV, 295, 33 *stretch* theyre heades | II, 127, 22 *scratch* (=Ph, Qu, Bo, Da). |
| IV, 295, 39-40 what *theare* they woulde make | II, 127, 28 *cheere* (= Ph, Qu, Bo, Da). |
| IV, 297, 8-9 having eyther quite *repelled* or at least *excelled* all passyon | II, 128, 35-36..... *expelled*, or at least *repelled;* Ph, Qu, Bo, Da *repelled* or at least *expelled.* |
| IV, 297, 11 *not withoute* pacyence hee brookes his Case | II, 128, 38 *nor with what* pacience (= Ph, Bo, Da; Qu *nor with that).* |
| IV, 298, 40 the gentleman | II, 130, 25 the Gentlemen (= Ph, Bo, Da; Qu = Cl.) |
| IV, 299, 9 Daungerus *Dimissions* | II, 130, 35 daungerous *devisions* (= Ph, Qu, Bo, Da). |
| IV, 303, 1-2 he hathe *viewed* all this while, but to *rome* the sooner to his affected ende | II, 134, 27..... *vired* (= Ph, Bo; Qu *taryed;* Da *desired)* .....*come* (= Ph, Bo, Qu, Da). |
| IV, 303, 12-13 desyered them, they woolde not exercyse private *Judges* | II, 134, 37..... *grudges* (= Ph, Qu, Bo, Da). |

There is only one place where *Cl* has the better reading, confirmed by *Ph, Qu* and *Bo:*

| | |
|---|---|
| IV, 302, 6 *when* by the bringing back of Pamela | II, 133, 33 *which*..... (thus all the folios; Da has *w$^{ch}$*). |

In one case, fourteen words have dropped out in *Cl:*

| | |
|---|---|
| IV, 295, 29-30 youre late valyant Attempt: These wordes..... | II, 127, 17-19 your late valiaunt attempte, *and not basely bee brought under a halter for seeking the libertie of Arcadia.* These wordes..... (= Ph, Qu, Bo, Da). |

The differences between the manuscript version and the Folio text of the Fourth Eclogues are considerable. Page 137, l. 19—p. 138, l. 10 of the latter corresponds to p. 306, ll. 3-34 of the *Old Arcadia.* After the common introduction, the two diverge. The Folio has first 'Agelastus' complaint, transferred from IV, 265, 11—266, 15; following this up with the two last songs from the ms. version of these eclogues (IV, 321, 3—324, 29 & 324, 33—326). All the rest is omitted, but herein the editor was perhaps carrying out the author's own intentions. The prose passage in IV, 306, 34—307, 21, contains the story of Strephon, Klaius and Urania in embryo, and had really been worked up into the proem to the *New Arcadia.* The song of Strephon and Klaius, beginning 'Yee goteheard Gods' (IV, 307, 22 ff.) occurs in the First Eclogues in the Quarto (I, 141, 3 ff.), in the Second Eclogues in the Folio (see I, 565). The next song, by the same shepherds, occurs in the Second Eclogues in the Quarto (I, 349, 4, ff.); in the Folio it is again linked up with their first song in the Second Eclogues (see I, 565). The prose passage in IV, 312, 20—313, 18, in which Philisides tells the story of his life, and which is probably meant to be autobiographic, has been cancelled; which seems a pity. Philisides' dream (IV, 313, 22—318, 8) had been transferred by Sidney himself to the third book of the revised version, where it is assigned to Amphialus wooing Philoclea (I, 394, 33 ff.). The prose passage following the dream (IV, 318, 9-25) is again deleted; the succeeding poem had already been transferred to the *New Arcadia,* bk. III (I, 357, 22 ff.)

The folio version of the fifth and last book is chiefly remarkable for an episode of nearly four pages (149, 14—153, 1) which is not in the *Old Arcadia,* and which in all probability represents (not Mary's but) Sidney's own work. If this supposition is cor-

rect, Sidney left at least one fragment of what was to have been the last book of the *New Arcadia*[1]); and Mary was for once well-advised in inserting it in her edition of the original version. The episode corresponds, roughly, to p. 331, l. 19—p. 333, l. 14 of the *Old Arcadia;* the manner in which the original has been recast and elaborated is the same that we shall find applied in the revision of Books I and II. It has been almost entirely rewritten, but is inlaid with sentences and bits of sentences from the older version. Thus IV, 332, 20-22 = II, 149, 28-29; *ibid.*, 22-30 = II, 152, 30-37; *ibid.*, 31-32 = II, 149, 25; *ibid.*, 34-36 = II, 152, 37-38; *ibid.*, 36-39 = II, 152, 27-29; IV, 333, 13-14 = II, 152, 40—153, 1. This method, as will be shown in our next chapter, is typically Sidneian.

Entirely in the manner of the *New Arcadia,* where the thread of narrative is often dropped half-way, to be resumed many pages further on, the present episode begins by taking up the story of Plangus where the revised version had left it at the end of Book II (Vol. I, page 338). There Basilius declares: 'Fayne he [viz. Plangus] would have had succour of my selfe, but the course of my life being otherwise bent, I onely accompanied him with some that might safely guide him to the great *Euarchus*' (ll. 20-22); the Folio episode opens with: 'The wofull Prince *Plangus* receyving of *Basilius* no other succours but only certayne to conduct him to *Euarchus*.....' (II, 149, 14-15). This way of linking up with the previous instalment of the story is exactly paralleled by the way the second part of Plangus' adventures is linked up with the first: 'But thus was *Antiphilus* redeemed, and (though against the consent of all her nobility) married to *Erona;* in which case the two Greeke Princes (being called away by an other adventure) left them' (I, 236, 37–40); and: 'It may please you to understād, since it pleaseth you to demaūd, that *Antiphilus* being crowned, & so left by the famous Princes *Musidorus & Pyrocles* (led thēce by the challenge of *Anaxius* .....)' (I, 330, 7-10).

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[1]) On the other hand, certain blank spaces in the revised books [cf. I, p. 64, top; p. 284, bottom] show that his ms. of the main body of the *New Arcadia* lacked the finishing touch.

The contents of the episode throw an interesting sidelight on Sidney's preoccupation with political questions, and will be discussed in our chapter on Sidney's progress as a thinker.

The interpolation made it necessary for the Folio editor to modify the account of Kalodulus' journey towards the end of this book, with the result that IV, 381, 1-4 & 26-31 are not in the Folio, and that II, 199, 31-37 is not in the original version.

The trial-scene has undergone several alterations, in accordance with the drastic changes made by Mary in the story of Pyrocles and Philoclea in Book III. The difference between Sidney's own account of the vicissitudes of these two lovers and Mary's doctored version reminds one at times of the contrast between Fielding and Richardson. Sidney's Pyrocles is like Tom Jones in his love and candour; Mary's hero combines a more scrupulous regard for morality with a tendency towards equivocation. Accused of complicity in the murder of Basilius, and of offering violence to Philoclea, he repudiates the former charge, continuing: 'Nowe come I to the second parte of my offence towardes ye younge Lady, whiche I confess, and for her sake hartely lament' (IV, 367, 7-9); the Folio interpolates: '..... which *howsoever you tearme it, so farre forth as I have told you,* I confesse.....' (II, 185, 38-39).

The inconsistency of retaining the punishment meted out to Pyrocles in the *Old Arcadia* has already been noted.

## *Conclusion.*

A definitive edition of the two *Arcadias* should comprise:

A. The *Old Arcadia.* Text based on Feuillerat's edition of the Clifford manuscript, emended by the help of the other manuscripts, the extracts in Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian Rhetorike,* the Quarto of 1590 and the Folio of 1593. The excursus on quantity and rhyme at the end of the First Eclogues in the Queen's College manuscript to be printed as an Appendix.

B. The *New Arcadia.* Text based on Feuillerat's edition of the Quarto of 1590, emended by the help of his lists of variants from the Folios, and of the original version. The episode on page 149, l. 14—page 153, l. 1 of his reprint of the additional books

of the First Folio to be printed as an Appendix. The arrangement of the Eclogues in the Folios to be reproduced as in Feuillerat's edition.

The additional books in the First Folio, with the exception of the episode just mentioned, should be used for the purpose of collation only, and should not be reprinted as part of a definitive edition of Sidney's works.

# CHAPTER TWO.

## SIDNEY'S PROGRESS AS A STORY-TELLER.

CONTEMPORARY OPINION ON THE REVISION — MODERN CRITICISM — CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN THE TWO VERSIONS — ADVANCE IN CHARACTERISATION; IN VERISIMILITUDE; IN NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE — GYNECIA — THE ARCADIAN REBELLION — PLANGUS AND ERONA — OMISSIONS AND CONDENSATIONS — NEW MATERIAL IN THE REVISED VERSION CONCLUSION.

### *Contemporary Opinion on the Revision.*

A French critic [1]) has said that the appreciation of the respective merits of the two *Arcadias* is destined to become one of the commonplaces of the history of English literature. Whether it will really attain to this status time only can show. A summary of the views hitherto expressed by writers on the subject may usefully preface our own attempt to strike a balance between the *Old Arcadia* and the *New*.

Sidney's contemporaries probably were unanimous in thinking that since he rewrote the work the revised version must be superior to the original. We may assume that such was Sidney's own view. Fulke Greville, in the letter already quoted, writes that the 'correction' is 'fitter to be printed then the first' draft. The editor of the 1590 Quarto does not even hint that the work had been recast, much less deal with the merits or demerits of the result. The preface 'To the Reader' in the 1593 Folio is unambiguous only in its strictures upon the Quarto; the new edition is said to contain 'the conclusion, not the perfection of *Arcadia*'; this must refer to the addition of the three books from the original version, which, however, is not expressly mentioned.

1) F. C. Danchin, Les deux Arcadies de Sir Philip Sidney. *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, V, 1, Oct. 1927, p. 42.

At the point where the revision breaks off, a note has been inserted, ending: 'What afterward chaunced, out of the Authors owne writings and conceits hath bene supplied, as foloweth'. Further than this, no information is vouchsafed.

Sir John Harington, who published a translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in 1591, seems to have known both versions of the *Arcadia*. In his notes to Canto XI he printed a sonnet which he described as 'that excellent verse of Sir Philip Sidney in his first Arcadia, (which I know not by what mishap is left out in the printed book).' [1]) He also prefixed to his translation an essay containing 'a Briefe Apologie of Poetrie, and of the Author and Translator', in which he borrowed much from Sidney's *Apologie*. In the following passage Sidney's practice in the revised *Arcadia* is appealed to in defence of a similar feature of Ariosto's work: 'There follows only two reproofs, which I rather interpret two peculiar praises of this writer [viz. Ariosto] aboue all that wrate before him in this kind. One, that he breaks off narrations verie abruptly, so as indeed a loose vnattentiue reader will hardly carrie away any part of the storie: but this doubtlesse is a point of great art, to draw a man with a continuall thirst to reade out the whole worke, and toward the end of the booke to close vp the diuerse matters briefly and clenly. If S. *Philip Sidney* had counted this a fault, he would not haue done so himselfe in his Arcadia' [2]).

The editor of the 1613 Folio, to which we have already referred, is more explicit than his predecessors. As his observations on the genesis of the *Arcadia* are, besides Greville's letter, the only ones that have come down to us from what may be called a contemporary hand, they are quoted here from vol. II, p. 350, of Feuillerat's edition:

'Thus far the worthy Author had revised or inlarged that first written Arcadia of his, which onely passed from hand to hand, and was never printed: having a purpose likewise to have new ordered, augmented, and concluded the rest, had he not bene prevented by untymely death. So that all which followeth here of this Work, remayned as it was done and sent

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[1]) Quoted by Koeppel, *Anglia*, X, 526, and by Wallace, *Life*, p. 233. The sonnet in question is printed on pp. 236-237 of Feuillerat's edition, vol. IV.

[2]) Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 216-217.

away in severall loose sheets (beeing never after reviewed, nor so much as seene all together by himself) without any certaine disposition or perfect order. Yet for that it was his, howsoever deprived of the just grace it should have had, was held too good to be lost: & therefore with much labor were the best coherencies, that could be gathered out of those scattred papers, made, and afterwards printed as now it is, onely by hir Noble care to whose deare hand they were first committed, and for whose delight and intertaynement only undertaken.

What conclusion it should have had, or how far the Work have bene extended (had it had his last hand thereunto) was onely knowne to his owne spirit, where only those admirable Images were (and no where else) to bee cast.

And here we are likewise utterly deprived of the relation how this combat ended, and how the Ladies by discovery of the approching forces were delivered and restored to *Basilius:* how *Dorus* returned to his old master *Dametas:* all which unfortunate mayme we must be content to suffer with the rest.'

It is clear from this note that the writer looked upon the *Old Arcadia* as an imperfect work, and regretted that Sidney's untimely death had prevented him from completing the revision. At the same time one wonders if his knowledge of the original version was derived from an authentic manuscript, or whether it was only based on the three last books as printed in the 1593 Folio, and on certain expressions in the dedication. In the latter Sidney had written: 'Your deare selfe can best witnes the maner, being done in loose sheetes of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest, by sheetes, sent unto you, as fast as they were done'. It would seem as if from this sentence the 1613 editor had distilled the statement that the sheets (at any rate those of the last three books) were 'never after reviewed, nor so much as seene all together by himself', and that they were 'without any certaine disposition or perfect order'. These assertions are hard to reconcile with the state of the story in the mss. preserved. The real facts seem to have been early obscured, owing perhaps to a lack of candour on the part of the Countess of Pembroke, who was certainly in the best position to give accurate information on the genesis of the *Arcadia*, had she chosen to do so.

For the rest, among the numerous allusions to the romance from 1590 down to the twentieth century, one looks in vain for any comparison between the two *Arcadias*. The existing

manuscripts being presumably in the possession of a few private persons, comparative criticism was hardly possible.

### *Modern Criticism.*

We may, therefore, turn at once to the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1909. The main facts about Dobell's discovery have been stated in the previous chapter. His article contains most of what the general student of literature will need to know upon the relation between the two versions, and at the same time the gist of what he has hitherto been told about their relative merits. It will, therefore, be necessary to look at Dobell's judgment on these merits somewhat closely. As the following extracts will show, it is unreservedly favourable to the *Old Arcadia*. 'As first written it formed a complete and coherent story, with a well-conceived plot, which is unfolded and developed with a skill and effectiveness wanting in the revised version'. — 'It is to be regretted, I think, that Sir Philip did not leave his work in its original state, since in that form it is much better as a work of art, and very much easier to read than it is in the revised version. Even had the author lived to complete his work in its second form, it could never have been made anything more than a series of stories, all of them, it is true, interesting in themselves, but so unskilfully pieced together that it is hard for the reader to understand exactly where he is. All the stories would gain much if related as separate and independent narratives, rather than as parts of a long romance with which they have only a forced connexion'.

This is a far cry from the opinion of Fulke Greville, Harington and the 1613 editor. After having lain obscure for three centuries, the *Old Arcadia* is hailed as much superior to the form in which the romance had achieved its unbounded popularity. Sidney's labour of revision is considered a mistake. So far from marking progress, the *New Arcadia* is a regrettable instance of artistic retrogression; and posterity has been ill served by having the original withheld from it. Once more Dobell insists: 'The important point to be noted about the story in its first form is that it is told in a clear straightforward manner, and is not

obscured and confused, as it is in the revised version, by the introduction of a number of other fictions which have only a forced connection with it. *It is in fact a well constructed and well digested romance, as capable of interesting the modern novel-reader as most stories of the day.* Its characters are well conceived and carefully discriminated; and the events of the story, though sufficiently improbable, are not so incredible as to disturb the enjoyment of an imaginative reader ..... To put the matter in the briefest compass, it may be said of the original 'Arcadia' that it is perhaps the first example in our language of what we now call a romance; whereas in its revised form it belongs rather to the older form of chivalric fiction'. — And again: 'In the first 'Arcadia' we have the unity of effect of a Greek temple; in its second form we have a rococo erection, fine in some of its parts, but formless and grotesque as a whole'. — 'It is not, indeed, a masterpiece in either of its forms; but it is much nearer to being one in its first form than in its second'.

The next important discussion of the two *Arcadias* is analytical and descriptive rather than critical. It comes from America, whither two of Dobell's manuscripts had in the meantime migrated. Some hundred pages of *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction* by S. L. Wolff (New York, 1912) are devoted to a demonstration of the thesis that, in both forms of the *Arcadia*, Sidney deliberately adopted methods and materials from the romances of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. In the *Old Arcadia* the story had been told in a straightforward way; in the *New Arcadia* the chain of events was complicated, the chronological order destroyed, and the whole work recast in imitation of the narrrative technique of Heliodorus. Wolff expresses his admiration of the 'almost incredible skill' evinced by Sidney in 'the process of re-weaving the Old Arcadia upon the loom of Heliodorus. For he has not dropped a single thread in the whole enormous design. As far as he recast it, the grandiose pattern is perfect'. In spite of this, he agrees with Dobell in thinking the revision a mistake. 'Such marvellous involution and complexity defeat their own ends. One who reads for pleasure simply cannot understand the Arcadia'. Thus critic and scholar are agreed in their condemnation.

Between 1912 and 1926, though the *Arcadia* was by no means neglected by students of Sidney's works, references to the original version are only made at second hand, the writers [1]) acknowledging their indebtedness to Dobell and Wolff. Volume III of the *Cambridge History of English Literature,* first published in 1908, is silent on the *Old Arcadia;* what is surprising, the new impression of 1918 contents itself with adding to its bibliography Wallace's *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (wrongly dated) and Wolff's dissertation (no date at all). The discovery of the *Old Arcadia* is ignored.

Thus there is no critical estimate of the relation between the two versions until we come to the Cambridge edition of the Clifford MS. in September 1926. Professor Feuillerat's opinion is diametrically opposed to Dobell's. 'This first form of Sidney's celebrated romance is certainly inferior in literary value to the revised form published in 1590. Though it has the advantage of presenting a simpler and, in a way, more coherent story, it fully deserves the criticism which Sidney himself passed upon it when he wrote to his sister: "Here now have you (most deare, and most worthy to be most deare Lady) this idle work of mine..... being but a trifle, and that triflinglie handled. Your deare selfe can best witnes the maner, being done in loose sheetes of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest, by sheetes, sent unto you, as fast as they were done. In summe, a young head, not so well stayed as I would it were ..... [2])" It is at best the immature work of a young man of great promise who is trying his hand at romance writing. But for that very reason it is of first-rate importance if we want to form a clear idea of Sidney's precocity of mind. A comparison between the two forms shows with what marvellous rapidity Sidney, in the space of some five years, gained not only in literary skill but also in richness and ripeness of thought. Sir Philip's progress as a story-teller has already, and on the whole satisfactorily, been studied by Dr Samuel Lee

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[1]) Greenlaw, Wallace and Brie, whose publications will be dealt with later on.

[2]) This letter was printed as a preface to the revised form; but it certainly applies to the older form (cf. prefatory note to the last part of the edition of 1613, vol. II, 350). [Feuillerat's note.]

Wolff in his book entitled *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction;* the study of Sir Philip as a thinker is an entirely unexplored field and will fully reward those who undertake it'.

This pronouncement of Sidney's editor has met with a good deal of scepticism. The reviewer of the *Times Literary Supplement* (October 28, 1926) must, one suspects, have reread Dobell's article before writing his critique. 'The first "Arcadia" is, without doubt, a better story than the second — a fantastic, romantic, impossible story, of course; but we not only can read it, we positively enjoy reading it. We want to know what will happen. Cut out all the "Eglogues", and most of the other poetry, modernize the language, and *the first "Arcadia" would have a fair chance of being a popular success even to-day*'. (Cf. the italicized sentence from Dobell's article on page 46.)

For more reasons than one the reviewer refuses to recognize the later version as superior to the original. 'If only on account of the vein of irony which persistently crops up through the story, we cannot agree with M. Feuillerat's estimate of it as "at best the immature work of a young man of great promise who is trying his hand at romance-writing".'— In the second *Arcadia* the main story is so clogged with irrelevant stories and underplots that 'it is not a sufficient compensation to realize as we do that a subtler and riper mind is at work.' As to Sidney's progress as a thinker: 'Of subtlety of thought, too, the first "Arcadia" had quite as much as it could conveniently carry: more would be, as it proved to be, in the main an encumbrance'. — The review is very appreciative of several features of the *Old Arcadia* (most of those enumerated, by the way, it shares with the *New*); in the question of preference the writer is unable to see eye to eye with M. Feuillerat.

The next contribution is an article on 'Sidney's Original *Arcadia*' by an Italian scholar, Mario Praz, which appeared in the *London Mercury* for March 1927. It is a lively essay, written, perhaps, with moderate concessions to the place of publication. On the whole, Praz appears to side with Dobell and the *Times* reviewer in their condemnation of the second version; but he differs from them in their confident anticipations of the success

the first form might achieve, if suitably modernised, even at the present day. Dobell, as we have seen, calls the characters of the *Old Arcadia* 'well conceived and carefully discriminated'; the *Times* reviewer says: 'His story may be fantastic, but his characters are real'. Praz, on the other hand, considers them 'too sophisticated to keep any childish charm, and not mature enough to appeal to our complex taste. The question is not one of verisimilitude. The people in *Arcadia* may even be granted the epithet of real; but doubtless they are lanky.' — 'A suspicion to *âge ingrat* hangs about its psychology.'

The chief count in this critic's indictment of the second *Arcadia* is its style. He gives parallels from the two versions to demonstrate that 'almost each sentence of the first draft has been subjected to a process of stucco decoration, until the once clear outline has disappeared behind the fashionable finery of a tortuous phraseology'. In several instances, Sidney has sacrificed directness to 'barren casuistry' and 'would-be psychology'. A word of praise is bestowed on the riot episode in the *New Arcadia*, which is better handled there, 'both from the point of view of verisimilitude and from that of characterisation'; though 'in dealing with particulars, he could not resist the temptation of embellishing'. The revision as a whole is qualified as 'an instance of perversion which can find a parallel only in Tasso's garbling his masterpiece into a lifeless Counter-Reformation epic'.

In conclusion, the article in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine* referred to above. It embodies, in the author's own words, his 'réflexions hâtives' occasioned by the reading of the two *Arcadias*. Its contribution to the discussion consists in the distinction made between the merits of the first two books of the new version on one hand, and those of the unfinished third on the other. The former M. Danchin considers failures; in the third Sidney has scaled heights hitherto unknown to him. In it he again wrote a straightforward narrative, and displayed that mental and spiritual growth to which Feuillerat refers in his preface. The summit, for M. Danchin, is reached in the episode of Argalus and Parthenia, which, with its analogies

to the recent bitter experiences of many of his countrymen, 'vient faire vibrer en nous des cordes sympathiques.'

With the sole exception, therefore, of Feuillerat and, as far as the third book is concerned, Danchin, critical opinion on the revision is unfavourable. Wolff admires its ingenuity, but condemns the result as a work of literary art. Dobell, Praz and the *Times* reviewer think the revision a failure; the latter agrees with Dobell in praising the first *Arcadia*.

So much for the present position. If judgment in matters of literature went by majorities, the *Old Arcadia*, so long neglected, might be said to have won the day. Two considerations, however, force themselves upon our attention. In the first place, the opinion of the editor of Sidney's works, based on prolonged occupation with the *Arcadia* in its two forms, must surely be allowed to carry more than ordinary weight. Secondly, those who condemn the revision assume Sidney's deterioration as an artist, and set at nought the almost unanimous verdict of several generations of readers and critics. If 'one who reads for pleasure simply cannot understand the (second) Arcadia', what about the reading public that welcomed thirteen editions in the course of eighty-four years?

When reading some of the articles mentioned above, one sometimes wonders whether the only business of literary criticism is the application of modern standards of taste, and whether there is, in the matter of *Arcadia*, any appeal from the verdict of the average novel-reader of the present day. The point of view here questioned is pushed to its logical consequence in J. C. Squire's review of the *Old Arcadia* (*The Observer*, Nov. 7, 1926): 'For if Sidney's potentialities as a thinker may be taken for granted, the "Arcadia" may be taken for read. Texts should be preserved, and standard editions should exist, but a list of differences between the first and the second editions of the "Arcadia" must be of small interest to a public stoutly resolved to read neither'. Here we have the real voice of the contemporary novel-reader, for whom Dobell and the *Times* reviewer would modernize the *Old Arcadia*.

On the other hand, let us examine more closely Feuillerat's claim for the revised version. 'This first form of Sidney's cele-

brated romance is certainly inferior in literary value to the revised form published in 1590 ..... It is at best the immature work of a young man of great promise who is trying his hand at romance writing ..... A comparison between the two forms shows with what marvellous rapidity Sidney, in the space of some five years, gained not only in literary skill but also in ripeness of thought'. Praz — rightly, I believe — warns against a modern tendency towards 'the study of poets not as such, but rather as thinkers'; let us therefore confine ourselves, for the present, to the poet as poet. In spite of Feuillerat's statement that 'Sir Philip's progress as a story-teller has already, and on the whole satisfactorily, been studied by Dr Samuel Lee Wolff', I venture to think that an investigation of this aspect of the revision will not prove altogether supererogatory. If Feuillerat's opinion of Sidney's gain in literary skill is to refer to anything besides the 'marvellous involution and complexity' of the *New Arcadia*, it cannot lean for all support on Wolff's analysis, the upshot of which, when all is said and done, is that these very qualities 'defeat their own artistic ends'. Moreover, Wolff's chapter on the *Arcadia* is a study of the sources rather than of the work as such; and even as a piece of 'Quellenforschung' it has been severely criticised by Tieje [1]) and Harrison [2]).

I propose, therefore, in the following pages to study, first of all, Sidney's methods and results in recasting Books I and II of the *Old Arcadia*. The new material in Books I and II of the revised version, together with Book III, which is entirely original, will be treated separately. Questions of style will be dealt with in a special chapter, though they may have to be touched upon in the present one. Similarly, though Sidney's 'thought' is reserved for later treatment, such aspects of it as bear immediately on his literary development will be discussed as the occasion requires [3]).

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[1]) In the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIII, 1914, p. 482-487.

[2]) In *University of Texas Studies in English*, no. 6, 1926, p. 53 ff.

[3]) I refrain from giving a synopsis of the story; in Mr. Squire's words, though in a different sense, I 'take it for read'. Feuillerat's edition is easily accessible, and abstracts abound, though those contained in general histories of literature are often inaccurate.

*Correspondences between the two Versions.*

Feuillerat has enabled us to take a general view of the relation between the two *Arcadias* by compiling a table showing the corresponding passages [1]). By running our eye down the columns we get an approximate idea of the extent to which the revised version is indebted for its material to the old. The text of the 1590 Quarto (volume I of Feuillerat's edition) begins on page 5; in the table the page-number corresponding to page 1 of the *Old Arcadia* (in Feuillerat's edition) is 19. The revised version, therefore, opens with some fourteen pages of new matter. Pages 1—6 of the *Old Arcadia* correspond, with some exceptions, to pp. 19—26 of the *New;* a number of lines on p. 2 appear to correspond to some on p. 327. For pp. 7—9 the correspondences are very irregular; the references are to different pages of the *New Arcadia,* among them 233, 160 and 12. From pages 10 to 33 the corresponding page-numbers from the *New Arcadia* show a fairly regular rise from 54 to 89, though with several gaps. Pp. 35—45 correspond to *New Arcadia,* pp. 112—120, not without some breaks in the continuity; for the last five pages of Book I the correspondences are again erratic.

Skipping, for the present, the First Eclogues, we come upon Book II again at page 87. From here onward to p. 106, the references to the *New Arcadia* vacillate between 145 and 180; for pages 107—116 the corresponding numbers range between 251 and 261, with one reference to 308; for the rest of Book II (down to page 128), the *New Arcadia* has, with almost unbroken continuity, pages 309—328.

The page-numbers of the *New Arcadia,* therefore, show gaps from 5 to 19, 26—54, 89—112, 180—251, 261—309. These gaps roughly represent the amount of new matter added in the later version. Closer examination shows that the number of new pages is even larger than appears at first sight. Books I and II of the original version fill some ninety pages of Feuillerat's edition, not including the Eclogues; in the *New Arcadia* the number has increased to more than three hundred.

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[1]) Pp. 397—400 of his edition of the original version.

With the help of Feuillerat's table we can now make a comparison between the text of the *Old Arcadia* and the corresponding portions of the *New*, noting the divergences, whether additions, omissions or other modifications. By marking the passages of the second version that are based on the first, it will be possible, on re-reading the former, to concentrate on the new material, and, by combining the results of the two readings, to appraise the progress, or otherwise, achieved by the revision.

Before proceeding to formulate the conclusions thus arrived at, it will be useful to insert a few parallel extracts from the two *Arcadias*, in order to give some idea of Sidney's methods in dealing with his first draft. The text has been emended whenever necessary.

*Old Arcadia*
P. 1, l. 4—p. 2, l. 5.
[Direct narrative.]

*Arcadia* amonge all the Provinces of *Grece* was ever had in singuler reputation, partly for the sweetnes of y^e^ Aire and other naturall benefittes: But, principally, for the moderate & well tempered myndes of the people, who, (fynding howe true a Contentation ys gotten by following the Course of Nature, And howe the shyning Title of glory somuche affected by other Nacions, dothe in deede help litle to the happines of lyfe) were the onely people, w^ch^ as by theire Justice and providence, gave neyther Cause nor hope to theyre Neighboures to annoy them, so were they not stirred with false prayse, to truble others quyett. Thincking yt a smalle Reward for y^e^ wasting of theire owne lyves in ravening, that theire posterity shoulde longe after saye, they had done so: Eeven the *Muses* seemed to approove theire good deter-

*New Arcadia*
P. 19, l. 7—p. 20, l. 26.
[Kalander tells the story to Musidorus.]

This countrie Arcadia among all the provinces of Greece, hath ever beene had in singular reputation: partly for the sweetnesse of the ayre, and other natural benefites, but principally for the well tempered minds of the people, who (finding that the shining title of glorie so much affected by other nations, doth in deed helpe little to the happinesse of life) are the onely people, which as by their Justice and providence geve neither cause nor hope to their neyghbours to annoy them, so are they not sturred with false praise to trouble others quiet, thinking it a small reward for the wasting of their owne lives in ravening, that their posteritie should long after saie, they had done so. Even the Muses seeme to approve their good determinatiõ, by chosing this countrie for their chiefe repairing place, & by bestowing their perfections so largely

minacõn, by chosing that Contrie as theire cheefest reparing place, and by bestowing theire perfections so largely there, that the very *Shepeardes* them selves had theire fancyes opened to so highe Conceiptes (as the moste learned of other nations have bene longe tyme since content) bothe to borrow theyre names, and imitate theire Conning. In this place some tyme there dwelte a mighty Duke named *Basilius*, a Prince of sufficient skill, to governe so quyett a Contrie, where the good myndes of the former Princes had sett downe good Lawes, and the well bringing up of the People did serve as a moste sure Bonde to keepe them:

here, that the very shepheards have their fancies lifted to so high conceits, as the learned of other nations are content both to borrow their names, and imitate their cunning.

Here dwelleth, and raigneth this Prince (whose picture you see) by name *Basilius*, a Prince of sufficient skill to governe so quiet a countrie, where the good minds of the former princes had set down good lawes, and the well bringing up of the people doth serve as a most sure bond to hold thē. But to be plaine with you, he excels in nothing so much, as in the zealous love of his people, wherein he doth not only passe al his owne fore-goers, but as I thinke al the princes living. Wherof the cause is, that though he exceed not in the vertues which get admiration: as depth of wisdome, height of courage and largenesse of magnificence, yet is hee notable in those whiche stirre affection, as trueth of worde, meekenesse, courtesie, mercifulnesse, and liberalitie.

Hee marryed *Gynecia*, the Daughter of the Kinge of *Cyprus*, a Lady worthy enoughe to have had her Name in continuall Remembrance, yf her later tyme had not blotted her well governed youthe: Allthoughe the wounde fell more to her owne Conscyence, then to the knouledg of the worlde, fortune somethinge supplying her wante of vertue.

He being already well striken in yeares, maried a young princes, named *Gynecia*, daughter to the king of Cyprus, of notable beautie, as by her picture you see: a woman of great wit, and in truth of more princely vertues, then her husband: of most unspotted chastitie, but of so working a minde, and so vehement spirits, as a man may say, it was happie shee tooke a good course: for otherwise it would have beene terrible.

Of her the Duke had twoo faire Daughters, the elder *Pamela*, the younger *Philoclea*, bothe so excellent in all those giftes wch are allotted to reasonable Creatures, as they seemed to bee borne for a suf-

Of these two are brought to the worlde two daughters, so beyonde measure excellent in all the gifts allotted to reasonable creatures, that wee may thinke they were borne to shewe, that Nature is no stepmother

ficient proof that, Nature ys no Steppmother to that Sexe: Howmuche soever the Rugged disposicõn of some men sharp witted onely in evill speaking, have[1]) soughte to disgrace them.

to that sex, how much so ever some men (sharpe witted onely in evill speaking) have sought to disgrace them. The elder is named *Pamela;* by many men not deemed inferiour to her sister: for my part, when I marked them both, me thought there was (if at least such perfections may receyve the worde of more) more sweetnesse in *Philoclea,* but more majestie in *Pamela:* mee thought love plaide in *Philocleas* eyes, and threatned in *Pamelas:* me thought *Philocleas* beautie onely perswaded, but so perswaded as all harts must yeelde: *Pamelas* beautie used violence, and such violence as no hart could resist: and it seemes that such proportion is betweene their mindes; *Philoclea* so bashfull as though her excellencies had stolne into her before shee was aware: so humble, that she will put all pride out of countenance: in summe, such proceeding as will stirre hope, but teach hope good mãners. *Pamela* of high thoughts, who avoides not pride with not knowing her excellencies, but by making that one of her excellencies to be voide of pride; her mothers wisdome, greatnesse, nobilitie, but (if I can ghesse aright) knit with a more constant temper.

Thus far the two versions run parallel. At page 2, line 5 of the *Old Arcadia* the correspondence ceases. Lines 5-9 (first half) have been cancelled; ll. 9 (second half)-13 are found again on p. 26 of the *New Arcadia.*

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[1]) Ph, Qu, Bo, Da *hath.*

*Old Arcadia*
P. 2, ll. 5-13.

And thus grewe they on, in eche good increase, till, *Pamela*, a yeare older then *Philoclea*, came to the poynte of Seaventeene yeares of age: At wch tyme, the Duke *Basilius*, not so muche stirred wth the Care for his Contrie and Children, as with the vanity wch possesseth many who (making a perpetuall mansion of this pore baiting place of mans lyfe) are desyerus to knowe the Certeinty of thinges to come, wherein there ys no thinge so certeyne as oure Continuall uncerteinty.

*New Arcadia*
P. 26, ll. 15-20.

By the contents of this letter you may perceive, that the cause of all, hath beene the vanitie which possesseth many, who (making a perpetuall mansion of this poore baiting place of mans life) are desirous to know the certaintie of things to come; wherein there is nothing so certaine, as our continual uncertaintie.

The five lines following this in the first version may be compared with ll. 26-32 on page 20 of the second:

*Old Arcadia*
P. 2, ll. 13-18.

*Basilius*, I say, wolde needes undertake a Jorney to *Delphos*, there, by the Oracle to enforme him self, whither the rest of his lyfe shoulde bee continewed in like tenor of happynes, as thitherunto yt had bene accompanyed wth the wellbeeyng of his wyfe and Children: Whereuppon hee had placed greatest parte of his owne felicity, .....

*New Arcadia*
P. 20, ll. 26-32.

Now then, our *Basilius* being so publickly happie as to be a Prince, and so happie in that happinesse as to be a beloved Prince, and so in his private blessed as to have so excellent a wife, and so over-excellent children, hath of late taken a course which yet makes him more spoken of then all these blessings. For, having made a journey to Delphos, .....

The next extract will show a different procedure:

*Old Arcadia*
P. 8, l. 29—p. 9, l. 1.

..... yt was *Pyrocles* eyther evell or good fortune, walking with his hoste in a fayre gallery, that hee perceyved a picture newly made by

*New Arcadia*
P. 18, ll. 1-23.

Hard by was a house of pleasure builte for a Sommer retiring place, whether *Kalander* leading him, he found a square room full of delight-

an excellent Artificer, wch conteyned the Duke and Duches, with theyre younger Daughter *Philoclea* with suche Countenaunce and fashion as the maner of theyre lyfe held them in. Bothe the Parentes eyes cast with a loving Care upon theyre beutyfull Chylde, shee drawne aswell as yt was possible Arte shoulde counterfeict so perfect a worckmanship of Nature: For therein, besydes the shewe of her beutyes a man might judge eeven the nature of her Countenaunce, full of bashfullnes love and reverence, and all by the Cast of her eye, mixt with a sweete greef to fynde her vertue suspected.

full pictures, made by the most excellent workeman of Greece. There was *Diana* when *Actæon* sawe her bathing, in whose cheekes the painter had set such a colour, as was mixt betweene shame & disdaine: & one of her foolish Nymphes, who weeping, and withal lowring, one might see the workman meant to set forth teares of anger. In another table was *Atalanta;* the posture of whose lims was so livelie expressed, that if the eyes were the only judges, as they be the onely seers, one would have sworne the very picture had runne. Besides many mo, as of *Helena, Omphale, Iole:* but in none of them all beautie seemed to speake so much as in a large table, which contained a comely old man, with a lady of midle age, but of excellẽt beautie; & more excellẽt would have bene deemed, but that there stood betweene thẽ a yong maid, whose wonderfulnesse tooke away all beautie from her, but that, which it might seeme shee gave her backe againe by her very shadow. And such differẽce, being knowne that it did in deed counterfeit a person living, was there betweene her and al the other, though Goddesses, that it seemd the skill of the painter bestowed on the other new beautie, but that the beautie of her bestowed new skill on [1]) the painter.

Verbal transfers abound again in the following passages:

| *Old Arcadia* | *New Arcadia* |
|---|---|
| P. 23, l. 19—p. 24, l. 12. | P. 75, l. 17—p. 76, l. 6. |
| [Musidorus has helped Pyro- | [Musidorus, in quest of Pyro- |

[1]) Thus Folios H—M. Quarto and A—G *of*.

cles to put on his female disguise.]

His heyre, wch the younge men of Greece ware very longe, (accoumpting them moste beutyfull, that had yt in fayrest quantity) lay uppon the uppermoste parte of his foreheade in Lockes, some curled, and some, as yt were forgotten: with suche a Careles care and wth suche an arte so hyding arte, that hee seemed hee woulde lay them for a Patern whether nature simply or nature helped by cunning bee the more excellent, the Rest wherof was drawne into a Coronet of golde richly set with pearle, and so joyned all over with gold wyers [1]), and covered with fethers of dyvers Coloures, that yt was not unlike to a hellmett, suche a glittering shewe yt bare, and so bravely yt was helde up from the heade. Uppon his body hee ware a kynde of Dublett of skye coloured Satyn, so plated over with plates of Massy golde, that hee seemed armed in yt: His sleeves of the same in steade of plates, was covered wth purled Lace, and suche was the nether parte of his garment, but that made so full of stuffe, and cutt after suche a fashyon, yt thoughe the lengthe fell under his anckles, yet in his goyng one mighte well perceyve the smalle of his Legg, wch with the foote, was covered wth a litle short payre of Crimson vellvet buskyns, in some places open, as the auncyent maner was, to shew ye

[1]) Thus Bo & Qu. Cl omits the words *richly* ..... *gold*. Other mss. not collated.

cles, while reposing in a wood, watches a Lady ( = Pyrocles in disguise) pass att a short distance.]

Well might he perceave the hanging of her haire in fairest quãtitie, in locks, some curled, & some as it were forgotten, with such a careless care, & an arte so hiding arte, that she seemed she would lay them for a paterne, whether nature simply, or nature helped by cunning, be the [1]) more excellent: the rest whereof was drawne into a coronet of golde richly set with pearle, and so joyned all over with gold wiers, and covered with feathers of divers colours, that it was not unlike to an helmet, such a glittering shew it bare, & so bravely it was held up frõ the head. Upon her bodie she ware a doublet of skie colour sattin, covered with plates of gold, & as it were nailed with pretious stones, that in it she might seeme armed; the nether part [2]) of her garment was so full of stuffe, & cut after such a fashion, that though the length of it reached to the ankles, yet in her going one might sometimes discerne the smal of her leg, which with the foot was dressed in a short paire of crimson velvet buskins, in some places open (as the ancient manner was) to shew the fairenes of the skin. Over all this she ware a certaine mantell, made in such manner, that comming under her [3]) right arme, and covering most of that side, it had no fastning of the left side, but onely upon the top of the shoulder: where the two endes met, and

[1]) Thus A—M. Quarto omits *the*.
[2]) Thus A—M. Quarto *parts*.
[3]) Thus A—M. Quarto *the*.

fayrenes of his skynn. Over all this, hee ware a certeyne Mantell of like stuffe, made in suche maner, that coming under his righte arme, and covering moste parte of that syde, yt tuched not the lefte syde, but uppon y^e^ topp of y^e^ shoulder, where the twoo endes mett, and were fastened together, w^th^ a very riche Jewell the Devyse whereof was this: An Egle covered with the fethers of a Dove, and yet lying under an other Dove, in suche sorte, as yt seemed, the Dove prayed uppon the Egle, the Egle casting up suche a looke, as thoughe the state hee was in, liked him, thoughe the payne greeved him. Uppon the same syde uppon his thighe, hee ware a sworde, suche as wee now calle Scimitares, the pomell wherof was so richely sett with precyous stones, as they were sufficyent testimonyes, yt coulde bee no meane personage that bare yt; ..... were closed together with a very riche jewell: the devise wherof (as he after saw) was this: a *Hercules* made in little fourme, but set with a distaffe in his hand [1]) as he once was by *Omphales* commaundement with a worde in Greeke, but thus to be interpreted, *Never more valiant.* On the same side, on her thigh shee ware a sword, which as it witnessed her to be an *Amazon,* or one following that profession, so it seemed but a needles weapon, since her other forces were without withstanding.

1) Thus A—M. Quarto *a distaffe set within his hand.*

After these descriptive passages, two more narrative episodes of some length.

### *Old Arcadia*

P. 36, l. 20—p. 37, l. 36.
[Direct narrative.]

And nowe, having named hym, mee thinckes yt reason, I shoulde tell yo^w^, what chaunse broughte him to this chaunge: I lefte him lately (yf yo^w^ remember fayre Ladyes) in the grove, by the twoo Lodges, there to see what shoulde befalle to his dere new transformed Frende. There hearde hee all the Compleyntes (not withoute greate Compassion) that his frende made to him self, and there, (not withoute some Laughter) did

### *New Arcadia*

P. 114, l. 26—p. 116, l. 39.
[Musidorus recounts his case to Pyrocles-Zelmane.]

The day (said he) I parted from you, I being in mind to returne to a towne, from whence I came hether, my horse being before tired, would scarce beare me a mile hence: where being benighted, the light of a candle (I saw a good way of) guided me to a young shepheards house, by name *Menalcas,* who seing me to be a straying strāger, with the right honest hospitality which seemes to be harboured in the *Arcadian* brests. &

hee see what passed betuixt him and *Dametas*, and howe stately hee playde ye parte of *Cleophila*, at the *Dukes* first comming: And falling into many kynde of fancyes towardes him, sometyme pitying his Case, sometymes praysing his behavyour, hee woulde often say to himself. O sweete *Pyrocles* how arte thow bewitched? where ys thy vertue? where ys the use of thy reason? Howe muche am I inferior unto thee in all the powers of thy mynde? And yet knowe I, that all the heavens, can not bring mee to suche a thraldome. Scarsely (thinck I) hee had spoken these wordes, but that the *Duchess* (beeyng sent for to enterteyne *Cleophila*) came oute with her twoo Daughters: Where the beames of ye Princess *Pamelas* beauty, had no sooner stricken into his eyes, but, that hee was wounded with more sodeyn vyolence of Love then ever *Pyrocles* was. Whether in deede yt were that this straunge power woulde bee bravely revenged on him, for the bitter wordes hee had used, or that his very resisting made the wounde the creweller: As wee see the Harquebush dothe moste endomage the stiffest mettall, or rather that ye continuall healthfullnes of his mynde made this sodeyn evill the more incurable: As the soundest bodyes once infected, are moste mortally endaungered. But, howesoever the Cause was, suche was the effect, that not beeyng able to beare the vehement payne, hee ranne away through ye grove like a madd man: Hoping perchaunce (as the fever sick folckes doo), that the chaunge of places mighte ease his greef, but therein was

though not with curious costlines, yet with cleanly sufficiencie, entertained me: and having by talke with him, found the manner of the countrie, something more in particular, then I had by *Kalanders* report, I agreed to sojourne with him in secret, which he faithfully promised to observe. And so hether to your arbour divers times repaired: & here by your meanes had the sight (O that it had never bene so, nay, O that it might ever be so) of the [1]) Goddesse, who in a definite compasse can set forth infinite beauty. All this while *Zelmane* was racked with jealousie. But he went on, For (saide he) I lying close, and in truth thinking of you, and saying thus to my selfe, O sweet *Pyrocles*, how art thou bewitched? where is thy vertue? where is the use of thy reason? how much am I inferior to thee in the state of the mind? And yet know I, that all the heavens cannot bring me to such thraldome. Scarcely, thinke I, had I spoken this word, when the Ladies came foorth; at which sight, I thinke the very words returned back again to strike my soule; at least, an unmeasurable sting I felt in my selfe, that I had spoken such words. At which sight? said *Zelmane*, not able to beare him any longer. O (sayd *Musidorus)* I know your suspition; No, no, banish all such feare, it was, it is, and must be *Pamela*. Then all is safe (sayd *Zelmane*) proceede, deare *Musidorus*. I will not (said he) impute it to my late solitarie life (which yet is prone to affections) nor, to the much thinking of you (though that cald the consideratiõ of love into my mind, which before

[1]) Thus A—M. Quarto *a*.

his Luck in deede better then his providence. For, hee had not goñ a litle, but that hee mett with a Shepearde (according to his estate) handsomely apparrelled, who was as then goynge to meete with other Shepeardes (as uppon certeyne dayes they had accustomed) to doo exercyses of activity, and to play newe invented Ecclogues before the *Duke:* whiche, when *Musidorus* had learned of him (for Love ys full of desyer, and desyer ys allwayes inquisitive) yt came streyghte into his heade, that there was no better way for him to come by the often enjoying of the Princess *Pamelas* sighte, then to take the apparell of this Shepearde uppon him. Whiche hee quickly did giving him his owne muche richer, and withall, leste the matter by him bee discovered, hyered him withowte stay to goo into *Thessalia*, wryting twoo or three wordes by him, (in a payre of Tables well closed up) to a servaunt of his, that hee shoulde uppon the receipte, arrest and keepe him in good order, till hee hearde his further pleasure: yet before *Menalcas* departed, (for so was his name) hee learned of him bothe his owne estate, and the maner of theyre pastymes and Egglogues. And thus furnished hee returned ageane to the place, where his harte was pledged, soo oppressed in mynde, that, yt seemed unto him his Legges were uñeth able to beare him: whiche greef hee uttered wth the Dolefull songe I tolde yow of before, and was Cause that his dere hee shee frende *Cleophila* came unto him.

I ever neglected) nor to the exaltation of *Venus;* nor revenge of *Cupid;* but even to her, who is the Planet, nay, the Goddesse, against which, the onely shielde must be my Sepulchre. When I first saw her, I was presently striken, and I (like a foolish child, that when any thing hits him, will strike himselfe again upon it) would needs looke again; as though I would perswade mine eyes, that they were deceived. But alas, well have I found, that Love to a yeelding hart is a king; but to a resisting, is a tyrant. The more with arguments I shaked the stake, which he had planted in the grounde of my harte, the deeper still it sanke into it. But what meane I to speake of the causes of my love, which is as impossible to describe, as to measure the backside of heaven? Let this word suffice, I love.

And that you may know I doo so, it was I that came in black armour to defende her picture, where I was both prevented, and beaten by you. And so, I that waited here to do you service, have now my self most need of succor. But wherupon got you your self this aparrel? said *Zelmane*. I had forgotten to tell you (said *Musidorus*) though that were one principall matter of my speech; so much am I now master of my owne minde. But thus it happened: being returned to *Menalcas* house, full of tormenting desire, after a while faynting under the weight, my courage stird up my wit to seeke for some releefe, before I yeelded to perish. At last this came into my head, that very evening, that I had to no purpose last used my horse and armour. I tolde *Menalcas,* that I was a *Thessalian* Gentle-man, who by mischaunce

having killed a great favorit of the Prince of that coũtry, was pursued so cruelly, that in no place, but either by favour, or corruption, they would obtaine my destruction; and that therefore I was determined (till the fury of my persecutors [1]) might be asswaged) to disguise my selfe among the shephards of *Arcadia*, & (if it were possible) to be one of them that were allowed the Princes presence; Because if the woorst should fall, that I were discovered, yet having gotten the acquaintance of the Prince, it might happen to move his hart to protect me. *Menalcas* (being of an honest dispositiõ) pittied my case, which my face through my inward torment made credible; and so (I giving him largely for it) let me have this rayment, instructing me in all the particularities, touching himselfe, or my selfe, which I desired to know: yet not trusting so much to his constancie, as that I would lay my life, and life of my life, upon it, I hired him to goe into *Thessalia* to a friend of mine, & to deliver him a letter frõ me; conjuring him to bring me as speedy an answeere as he could, because it imported me greatly to know, whether certaine of my friendes did yet possesse any favour, whose intercessiõs I might use for my restitution. He willingly tooke my letter, which being well sealed, indeed conteyned other matter. For I wrote to my trustie servant *Calodoulus* (whom you know) that assoone as he had delivered the letter, he should keep him prisoner in his house, not suffering him to have conference with any

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[1]) Thus A—M. Quarto *persecutions*.

body, till he knewe my further pleasure: in all other respects that he should use him as my brother. And thus is *Menalcas* gone, and I here a poore shepheard; more proud of this estate, thē of any kingdom: so manifest it is, that the highest point outward things can bring one unto, is the contentmēt of the mind: with which, no estate; without which, all estates be miserable. Now have I chosen this day, because (as *Menalcas* tolde me) the other shepheards are called to make their sports, and hope that you wil with your credite, finde meanes to get me allowed among them.

Our last quotation is from Book II:

*Old Arcadia*
P. 111, l. 24—p. 112, l. 25
and p. 116, l. 23—p. 117, l. 34.

Newly was *Philoclea* departed oute of the Chamber, when *Ginecia* trubled with a fearefull Dreame, frightfullye awaked. The Dreame was this, It seemed unto her to bee in a place full of thornes, whiche so molested her, as shee coulde neyther abyde standing still, nor treade safely goying forward: In this Case, shee thoughte, *Cleophila,* (beeyng uppon a fayre Hill delightfull to the eye, and easy in apparance) called her thether. But, thether with much Anguish beeyng come, *Cleophila* was vanysshed, and shee founde no thing but a Deade body, whiche seeming at the first with a straunge smell so to infect her, as shee was redy to dye: Lykewyse, within a whyle, the Dead body shee thoughte tooke her in his Armes, and sayde, *Ginecia,*

*New Arcadia*
P. 308, l. 22—p. 310, l. 34.

And so [1]) went up *Miso* to *Gynecia,* who was at that time miserably vexed with this manner of dreame. It seemed unto her to be in a place full of thornes, which so molested her, as she could neither abide standing still, nor treade safely going forward. In this case she thought *Zelmane,* being upon a faire hill, delightfull to the eye, and easie in apparance, called her thither: whither with much anguish being come, *Zelmane* was vanished, and she found nothing but a dead bodie like unto her husband, which seeming at the first with a strange smell to infect her, as she was redie likewise within a while to die, the dead bodie, she thought, tooke her in his armes, and said, *Gynecia,* leave all; for here is thy onely rest.

[1]) Thus A—M. Quarto *So.*

here ys thy onely Rest, with that shee awaked crying very lowde; *Cleophila. Cleophila.* But remembring her self, and seeying her husband by (as a guilty Conscyence dothe more suspect then ys suspected) shee turned her Calle, and called for *Philoclea: Basilius* (that God knowes knewe no reason whye hee mighte spare to tell yt) tolde her *Philoclea* was goñ to enterteyne the Lady *Cleophila* who had longe remayned in solitary Muses. *Ginecia,* as yf shee had heard her last Doñe pronounced ageanst her with a syde looke and chaunging [1]) face, O my Lorde (sayde shee) what meane yow to suffer those younge folckes together? *Basilius* smyling tooke her in his Armes, sweete wyfe (saide hee) I thanck yow for youre Care of youre Chylde, but they must bee youthes of other mettell then *Cleophila,* that can endaunger her: O but, (Cryed oute *Ginecia*) and therewith shee stopped, for then in deede did her spirite suffer a greate Conflict, betwixt the force of Love, and the rage of Jelosy. Many tymes was shee aboute to satisfye the spyte of her mynde, and tell *Basilius,* what, and upon what reasons shee thoughte *Cleophila,* to bee farr other then the owtewarde apparance: But these many tymes were all putt back by the manifolde forces of her vehement Love, fayne shee woulde have barred her Daughters happ, but lothe shee was to cutt of her owne hope; Often shee offered to have risen, to have broken, that which her Jelosy made her Imagyn, muche more, then so stollen a Leysure could suffer.

With that she awaked, crying very loud, *Zelmane, Zelmane.* But remembring her selfe, and seeing *Basilius* by, (her guiltie conscience more suspecting, then being suspected) she turned her call, and called for *Philoclea. Miso* forthwith like a valiant shrew, (looking at *Basilius,* as though she would speake though she died for it) tolde *Gynecia,* that her daughter had bene a whole houre togither in secrete talke with *Zelmane:* And (sayes she) for my part I coulde not be heard (your daughters are brought up in such awe) though I tolde her of your pleasure sufficiently. *Gynecia,* as if she had heard her last doome pronounced agaynst her, with a side-looke and chaunged countenance, O my Lorde (said she) what meane you to suffer these yong folkes together? *Basilius* (that aymed nothing at the marke of her suspition) smilingly tooke her in his armes, sweete wife (said he) I thanke you for your care of your childe: but they must be youthes of other mettall, then *Zelmane,* that can endaunger her. O but; cryed *Gynecia,* and therewith she stayed: for then indeede she did suffer a right conflict, betwixt the force of love, and rage of jealousie. Manie times was she about to satisfie the spite of her minde, and tell *Basilius,* how she knewe *Zelmane* to be farre otherwise then the outwarde appearance. But those many times were all put backe, by the manifolde objections of her vehement love. Faine she would have barde her daughters happe, but loth she was to cut off her owne hope. But now, as if her life had bene set

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[1]) Thus Ph, Qu, Bo, Da.
Cl *chaunged.*

But *Basilius*, who had no less desyer to taste of his Daughters laboure, woulde never suffer yt, swearing hee sawe sicknes in his wyves face, and therefore woulde not the Ayer shoulde have his power over her: Thus did *Ginecia* eate of her jealosy, pyne in her Love, and receyve, kyndenes, no where but from the founteyne of unkyndenes.

[At this point the narrative turns from Gynecia to Philoclea and Cleophila, to revert to Gynecia four pages further on. In the *New Arcadia* the story is continuous.]

But *Ginecias* restles affection & furyous Jelosy had by this tyme preveyled somuche with her husband as to come to seperate them. O Jelosy the fransy of wyse folkes, the well wisshing spite [1]) & unkynde Carefullnes, the self punishment for others faulte and self misery in others happynes: The sister of Envy, Daughter of Love & Mother of hate, howe couldest thow so quickly gett thee [2]) a seate in y$^{e}$ unquyet hart of *Ginecia*, a Lady very fayre, in her strongest aige, knowne [3]) wyse and esteemed vertuous. Yt was thy breeders power that planted y$^{e}$ there, yt was the inflaming Agonyes of affection, that drue on y$^{e}$ feyver [4]) of thy sicknes in suche sorte that Nature gave place: The growing of her Daughter seemed the decay of her self, the blessinges of a Mother turned to the uppon a wager of quicke rysing, as weake as she was, she gat up; though *Basilius*, (with a kindnesse flowing onely from the fountaine of unkindnesse, being in deede desirous to winne his daughter as much time as might be) was loth to suffer it, swearing he sawe sicknesse in her face, and therefore was loath she should adventure the ayre.

But the great and wretched Ladie *Gynecia*, possessed with those devils of Love and Jealousie, did rid herselfe from her tedious husbande: and taking no body with her, going toward thē; O Jealousie (said she) the phrensie of wise folkes, the wellwishing spite, and unkinde carefulnesse, the selfe-punishment for others fault [1]), and selfe-miserie in others happinesse, the cousin of envie, daughter of love, & mother of hate, how couldest thou so quietly get thee a seate in the unquiet hart of *Gynecia*, *Gynecia* (said she sighing) thought wise, and once vertuous? Alas it is thy breeders power which plantes thee there: it is the flaming agonie of affection, that works the chilling accesse of thy fever, in such sort, that nature gives place; the growing of my daughter seemes the de-

1) Thus Ph, Qu, Bo. Cl *spirit*.

2) Thus Ph, Qu, Bo. Cl omits *thee*.

3) Cl erroneously has a comma after *knowne*.

4) Cl comma after *feyver*.

1) Thus A—M. Quarto *faults*.

Curses of a Competitor, and the fayre face of *Philoclea* appeared more horrible in her sighte, then the Image of deathe. Possest with these Devills of Love and Jelosy, the great [1]) and wretched Lady *Ginecia* had ridd her self from her tedyus Husband (who thoughte now hee mighte freely give her leave to goo hoping his Daughter by that tyme had performed his message) and as soone as shee was alone, with Lookes straungely cast aboute her, shee began to denounce Warr to all the worckes of earthe & powers of heaven: But the invenymed heate wch lay within her gave her not scope for many wordes, but with as muche ragefull haste [2]) as the *Troyan* woman went to burne *Æneas* shippes shee rann headlongly towardes the place, where shee guessed her Daughter and *Cleophila* might bee together: yet by the way there came into her mynde, an oulde songe, whiche shee thoughte did well figure her fortune, The songe was this, thoughe her leysure served her not as then to synge yt.

[Song.]

Beeying come where they were, to the greate astonishment of the sweete *Philoclea*, (whose Conscyence now began to knowe Cause of blusshing) for first salutation, shee gave an eye to her Daughter, full of the same disdaynefull scorne, wch *Pallas* shewed to ye pore *Arachne*, that durst contend with her for the pryce of well weaving: yet, see the force of Love did somuche rule her that thoughe for *Cleophilas* sake shee did

cay of my selfe; the blessings of a mother turne to the curses of a cõpetitor; and the faire face of *Philoclea*, appeares more horrible in my sight, then the image of death. Then remembred she this song, which she thought tooke a right measure of her present mind.

[Song.]

But her unleasured thoughtes ran not over the ten first wordes; but going with a pace, not so much too fast for her bodie, as slowe for her minde, she found them together, who after *Misos* departure, had left their tale, and determined what to say to *Basilius*. But full abashed was poore *Philoclea*, (whose conscience nowe began to knowe cause of blushing) for first salutation, receyving an eye from her mother, full of the same disdainefull scorne, which *Pallas* shewed to poore *Arachne*, that durst contende with her for the prize of well weaving: yet did the force of love so much rule her, that though for *Zelmanes* sake she did detest her,

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[1]) Thus Ph, Bo, Da. Cl *greater*.

[2]) Thus Ph, Qu, Bo, Da. Cl *rage*.

detest her, yet for *Cleophilas* sake, shee used no harder wordes to her, then to bidd her goo home, and accompany her solitary father. Then began shee to display to *Cleophila* the storehowse of her Deadly desyers, .....

yet for *Zelmanes* sake she used no harder words to her, then to bid her go home, and accompany her solitarie father.

Then began she to display to *Zelmane* the storehouse of her deadly desires, .....

A comparison of these extracts will give us a clue to some of Sidney's methods. The many verbal correspondences conclusively prove that he must have written the *New Arcadia* with a copy of the first draft before him. We may also imagine him to have been provided with a pair of scissors and a liberal supply of paste. Many passages from the original version have been bodily transferred to the new, with no more alterations than could be effected by a few strokes of the pen. Such are those to be found in the following places in Feuillerat's edition of the *Old Arcadia* [1]): p. 1, ll. 4-27 (see above); p. 3, l. 39—p. 5, l. 40 (Philanax's speech, which has become a letter in the second version, with twelve lines interpolated); p. 10, l. 11—p. 14, l. 34 (with a passage of six lines from pp. 17 & 18 interpolated); p. 15 l. 38—p. 23, l. 4; p. 38, ll. 10-38; p. 87, l. 2—p. 93, l. 8 (chapter I of Book II in the *New Arcadia;* eight lines interpolated); p. 95, l. 1—p. 101, l. 14; p. 121, l. 17—p. 122, l. 21; to which may be added the songs and other poems, in so far as they occur in both versions.

The lines 4-27 of our first extract are a fair specimen of this class of transfer. The modifications consist of: 1. the change from the preterite to the present tense, owing to the different form of narrative; 2. the omission of the word *moderate* from l. 6; of the words *howe true a Contentation ys gotten by following the Course of Nature, And* from ll. 7-9; of *themselves* from ll. 19-20, and *moste* from l. 21; 3. the substitution of *that* for *howe* in l. 9; *this ..... for ..... chiefe* for *that ..... as ..... cheefest* in ll. 17-18; *lifted* for *opened* in l. 20; *Here dwelleth and reigneth this Prince (whose picture you see) by name* for *In this place some tyme there dwelte a mighty Duke named,* ll. 23-

[1]) For the corresponding pages of the *New Arcadia*, see F.'s table.

24; and *hold* for *keepe* in l. 27. None of these changes are, perhaps, very significant; most of them are the natural outcome of the circumstance that, instead of opening the book, the passage in the *New Arcadia* is spoken by Kalander in front of a picture of Basilius, whose title has been altered from *Duke* to *Prince*. With regard to Sidney's 'thought' one might perhaps note the cancelling of line 8.

The chief differences between Philanax's speech in the first *Arcadia* and his letter in the second consist of the interpolated passage already noted, and of a number of omissions and variants. The following is an interesting sample :

| *Old Arcadia* P. 4, ll. 8-14. | *New Arcadia* P. 24, ll. 14-18. |
|---|---|
| ....., whiche [viz. wisdom and virtue] besydes theyre Inwarde Comforte, do *make a man see* so direct a way of proceeding, as prosperity must *necessarily* ensewe: *And allthoughe* the wickednes of the world should oppress yt, *yet, coulde yt not* bee sayde, that evell happened to him, who *should falle* accompanyed wth vertue. *So that eyther standing or falling with vertue, a man ys never in evell Case:* I woulde then have sayde, ..... | .....; which, besides their inward cõfort, doo *lead* so direct a way of proceeding, as *either* prosperitie must ensue; or, *if* the wickednes of the world shoulde oppresse it, *it can never* be said, that evil hapne*th* to him, who *falles* accompanied with vertue: I would then have said, ..... |

It would be possible thus to illustrate each particular variety of adaptation, from almost literal transfer up to the entire abandonment of the words of the original. The latter method may be observed in our second extract; it does not contain a single instance of verbal borrowing. Either extreme allows us to follow the process of revision without much difficulty; but in the intermediate stages matters often become rather complicated. A sentence, or a mere phrase, may be omitted and we think we have seen the last of it; but a few pages — sometimes many pages — further on, it crops up again in different surroundings. We have already noted the transfer of ll. 9-13 of page 2 of the *Old Arcadia* to p. 26 of the *New*. In the first draft these lines follow

the description of Pamela and Philoclea; further down on the same page we find the oracle, which is the *primum mobile* of the main action; Philanax's speech begins at the bottom of the next. In the second *Arcadia* the lines in question follow Philanax's letter (which has taken the place of his speech), the oracle being postponed to page 327! Again, the description of Philanax at the bottom of page 2 and the top of page 3 corresponds to page 23, ll. 25-34 of the revised version; but we look in vain there for ll. 3-6 of the same page of the original. However, they are not cancelled, only transferred, in part, to page 26, ll. 22-25 of the *New Arcadia:*

| *Old Arcadia* P. 3, ll. 3-6. | *New Arcadia* P. 26, ll. 22-25. |
|---|---|
| But suche was this man, and in suche a man had Basilius been happy, yf his mynde *(corrupted w^th a Princes fortune)* had not resolved to use a frendes secretsie, *rather* for Confirmacõn of fancyes, *then* correcting of errors, ..... | But this experience shewes us, that Basilius judgement, *corrupted with a Princes fortune,* hath *rather* heard *then* followed the wise (as I take it) counsell of Philanax. |

The phrase 'corrupted with a Princes fortune' was apparently too good to be lost; the general trend of the observation could be rendered more tersely, while preserving the antithesis hinging on *rather ..... then.*

On page 7, ll. 8-20 contain a description of Euarchus, king of Macedon. In the *New Arcadia* this passage has been entirely rewritten, and elaborated to five pages. The cursory reader will find nothing to remind him of the diction of the original. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals a phrase and a word or two from the *Old Arcadia* embedded in the new material:

| *Old Arcadia* P. 7, ll. 10-11. | *New Arcadia* P. 185, ll. 12-13. |
|---|---|
| *nor did measure greatenes by any thinge but by goodnes, .....* | A Prince, that indeed *especially measured his greatnesse by his goodnesse: .....* |

P. 7, ll. 11-12.

as hee did thereby roote an *Awfull love* in his *subjectes* towardes him, ...

P. 186, ll. 32-37.

But so soone as some fewe (but in deede notable) examples, had thundred a duetie into the *subjects* hartes, he soone shewed, no basenes of suspition, nor the basest basenes of envie, could any whit rule such a Ruler. But then shined foorth indeede all *love* among them, when an *awfull* feare, ingendred by justice, did make that love most lovely:

Here, indeed, the thread that connects the diction of the two *Arcadias* has worn very thin, and we have reached the point where verbal borrowing gives way to independent composition.

The re-arrangement of the following passage may at first sight remind one of a jig-saw puzzle; yet study it carefully, and a conscious stylist will be seen at work:

*Old Arcadia*

P. 11, ll. 17-23.

These wordes spoken vehemently and proceeding from so dearely an esteemed frende as Musidorus did so perce pore Pyrocles, that his blusshing Cheekes did witnesse with him, hee rather coulde not help, then did not knowe his faulte: Yet, desyerus by degrees to bringe his frende to a gentler Consideracyon of him, and beginning w^th^ twoo or three broken sighes, answered him to this purpose.

*New Arcadia*

P. 55, l. 39—p. 56, l. 3.

..... [his hart,] pierced with any mislike of so deerely an esteemed friend, and desirous by degrees to bring him to a gentler consideration of him, with a shamefast looke (witnessing he rather could not helpe, then did not know his fault) answered him to this purpose.

On page 41 of the *Old Arcadia* Basilius is made to stay behind alone, all this thoughts running on Cleophila, while the rest of the company are gone to see the 'Pastoralles'. At the corresponding place in the new version (p. 118) we are only told that 'he staied behind to bring the shepherds, with whom he meant to cõfer', and we wonder what has become of the tumult within him. Half a page further on, however, we come upon the identical words, now applied to Gynecia!

| *Old Arcadia* | *New Arcadia* |
|---|---|
| P. 41, ll. 11-12. | P. 119, ll. 15-17. |
| There *hard by the* Lodge walked hee, *carrying this unquyet contention aboute him,* ..... | In this place while Gynecia walked *hard by* them, *carying many unquiet cõtentions about her,* ..... |

Another curious instance of transference is afforded by a comparison of page 34, ll. 20-22, and p. 42, ll. 27-28, of the original version on the one hand, with p. 90, ll. 37-38, p. 91, l. 7, and p. 119, ll. 23-27 of the new version on the other.

| *Old Arcadia* | *New Arcadia* |
|---|---|
| P. 34, ll. 20-22. | P. 90, ll. 37-38. |
| and kissing them [Philoclea's hands] with great shewe of extreme affection, and *with a bowed downe countenaunce* began this speech unto her. | and kissing it [Ph.'s hand] (I must confesse) *with more then womanly ardency,* ..... |
| | P. 91, l. 7. |
| | ..... (answered I *with a bowed downe countenaunce)* ..... |
| P. 42, ll. 27-28. | P. 119, ll. 23-27. |
| ..... taking y$^{e}$ faire hande of Philoclea, and *with more then womanish ardency,* kissing yt began to say these wordes. | ..... taking the hande of Philoclea, and with burning kisses setting it close to her lips (as if it should stande there like a hand in the margine of a Booke, to note some saying worthy to be marked) began to speake these wordes. |

Thus, while recasting page 34 of the *Old Arcadia,* Sidney inserted a phrase from page 42; and, inversely, reserved the words 'with a bowed downe countenaunce' for use half a page further on. The impoverishment of page 42 was more than made up for by the new image of the 'hand in the margine of a Booke'.

Instances might be multiplied, but those already quoted will probably suffice to give some idea of the way Sidney dealt with his original text. It is interesting to note that there is hardly anything in the *Old Arcadia* that he did not, one way or another,

make use of in the *New*. The passages that he deleted without employing either the wording or the substance in some other part of the story, when put together, would not cover more than five or six pages in Feuillerat's edition; and, naturally, many of these omissions have their peculiar significance.

Another point worth noting is the great care taken by the author to adapt details of narrative and diction, where the different plan of the *New Arcadia* necessitated alterations in passages transferred from the *Old*. Wolff, as we have already seen, speaks of the 'incredible skill' of the revision; 'he has not dropped a single thread in the whole enormous design. As far as he recast it, the grandiose pattern is perfect'. In a footnote, he points out 'one inconsistency, so trivial as to be scarcely worth mentioning', viz. the circumstance that the country in which the two princes encounter the deposed and blinded king with his son Leonatus (*New Arcadia*, page 206 ff.) is once called *Paphlagonia*, but otherwise *Galacia* or *Galatia*. Wolff suggests that 'Sidney may have forgotten to change one "Paphlagonia" to "Galatia"; or his Ms. change may have been so dim that the printer made the error, which the "overseer of the print" overlooked'. — This explanation, however, plausible as it may seem, overshoots the mark. Wolff, who had read and summarized the *Old Arcadia*, should have remembered that the episode does not occur in it at all; so there was nothing to change! Of course, there remains the 'inconsistency'; and though this is really a digression, an attempt to clear it up may be made here. The clue is perhaps to be found in Peter Heylin's geographical treatise *Cosmography* (5th ed., 1677), Lib. III, p. 8, where it says that in the time of Mithridates, Paphlagonia 'being very much wasted, and most of the Cities of it destroyed and desolate in the course of that war, it was not thought worthy a particular care, and therefore' (after the death of king Philomenes, by the Romans) 'laid unto Galatia'. — '..... nor was it otherwise esteemed than as a member of Galatia, in the time of Ptolemy'. Justinian revived the name Paphlagonia. We may suppose that Sidney found much the same information in the historical and geographical works at his disposal and therefore treated the two names as practically synonymous. At any rate, the occurrence

of the word *Paphlagonia* proves nothing against the accuracy of the revision. The only cases of imperfect adaptation that occur are to be found in the Eclogues in the 1590 Quarto, which, in the over-seer 's words, 'were not perused by' Sidney; these have been dealt with in the previous chapter.

### *Advance in Characterisation; in Verisimilitude; in Narrative Technique.*

After this preliminary survey, we may now turn to the question whether the *New Arcadia* shows an advance in literary craftsmanship as compared with the *Old*. Considering the almost unanimous verdict to the contrary brought in by modern criticism, it seems hazardous to endorse Feuillerat's contention that the first form of the romance is inferior in literary value to the revised version. Yet a point-to-point comparison of the two forms yields such abundant material in support of his view that I feel warranted in answering the question in the affirmative — with certain reservations to be made in due course.

Mario Praz [1]) admits that the episode of the Arcadian uprising is better handled in the new version, both from the point of view of verisimilitude and from that of characterisation. I propose to show that the advance in these two respects is not limited to this particular episode, but appears in several places of the *New Arcadia*. And first as to characterisation.

At the beginning of Book I of the *Old Arcadia* the members of Basilius' household are briefly described [2]). Basilius is 'a Prince of sufficient skill, to governe so quyett a Contrie' ; Gynecia 'a Lady worthy enoughe to have had her Name in continuall Remembrance, yf her later tyme had not blotted her well governed youthe' ; Pamela and Philoclea both 'excellent in all those giftes, wch are allotted to reasonable Creatures'. These few remarks can hardly be called characterisation; they tell us little about the personages beyond their position in the world and their mutual relation as husband, wife, elder and younger daughter.

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[1]) l. c. p. 512.

[2]) See our first extract, p. 54.

In the revised version, however, the figures are clearly differentiated and individualized. The bare words: 'Hee marryed *Gynecia*' are amplified to: 'He *being already well striken in yeares,* maried a *young* princes, named *Gynecia*'. To their difference in years is added a striking diversity of character; Basilius 'though he exceed not in the vertues which get admiration; as depth of wisdome, height of courage and largenesse of magnificence, yet is hee notable in those whiche stirre affection, as trueth of worde, meekenesse, courtesie, mercifulnesse, and liberalitie'. Gynecia, on the other hand, is 'a woman of great wit. and in truth of more princely vertues, then her husband'; of unspotted chastity, but of a working mind, and vehement spirits.

In the same way, Sidney draws a marked distinction between Pamela and Philoclea: 'more sweetnesse in *Philoclea,* but more majestie in *Pamela*'. Pamela has 'her mothers wisdome, greatnesse, nobilitie, but (if I can ghesse aright) knit with a more constant temper'. This differentiation is well maintained throughout the revision. In fact, one of the most remarkable features of the *New Arcadia* is the deliberate and subtle retouching of the figures of the two sisters, showing that between the two versions Sidney had made great progress in psychological insight and artistic skill.

In the *Old Arcadia,* the first time Pamela and Musidorus (disguised as the shepherd Dorus) meet together is during the attack of a lion and a bear. Pyrocles (disguised as Zelmane) accounts for the lion; Dorus kills the bear who had meant to attack Pamela. 'Whiche beeyng done, hee turned to his Lady *Pamela,* at that tyme in a swounde with extremity of feare, and softely taking her in his Armes, hee tooke the advauntage to kisse and rekiss her a hundred tymes'. (*Old Arcadia,* page 48.) When Pamela recovers from her swoon, 'with greate disdayne [she] putt him from her', but seeing the 'Ougly Beare', she forgets her anger and cries to Dorus for help. In the revised version this passage is cancelled; not, however, because in the meantime Sidney had developed an aversion to sensuous scenes. Whenever in any portion of the *Arcadia* such a scene has been omitted, we may be sure that the sensuousness *revient au galop* elsewhere.

The reason for omitting this passage is that Pamela's character had, in her creator's mind, developed a degree of austerity and augustness to which she had by no means attained in the first draft; and that the cancelled scene was apt to give a false impression of her real nature. True, the original version said of her that she was 'the onely Lady that woulde needes make open warr upon her self, and obteyne the victory, for, in deede even now fynde shee did, a certeyne worcking of a newe come Inclination to *Dorus:* But, when shee founde perfectly in her self whether yt must drawe her, shee did over master yt, with the Consideracyon of his meañenes' ; — and on page 93 *(Old Arcadia)* we read: 'For, in deede *Pamela,* having had no smalle sturring of her mynde towardes him, aswell for the goodlynes of his shape, as for the excellent tryall of his Corage had notwithstanding with a true tempered vertue, sought all this while to overcome yt, and a greate Mastery, (allthoughe not withoute payne) shee had wroughte with her self '. The self-control is there, but the 'no smalle sturring of her mynde towardes him' is emphasized. To overcome her contempt of his supposed mean birth, Dorus tells her his life story in veiled terms, so as to deceive Pamela's guardian, Mopsa, but distinctly enough to almost convince her that he himself is the Thessalian prince he is speaking of. When he has finished, she ponders his tale, divided between growing love and doubt. To soften her still further, Dorus sings her a song, which moves her to tears. When Dorus suggests that the Princess, whom the Prince of his story served in the guise of a shepherd, should run away with him, principally out of gratitude for his affection, secondly for knowing him to be a Prince, and lastly to escape her own bondage, '*Pamela* founde in her Conscyence suche an accusing of a secrett Consent thereto, that shee thought yt safest way to direct the speeche, leste in Parley, the Castell mighte bee given upp' . And addressing Mopsa, (to whom Dorus had ostensibly been making love) she tells her that if Dorus can prove himself what he pretends to be (viz. brother to a shepherd of good repute), 'I knowe no reason why, a better then yow need thinck scorne of his affectionate suite' . Of course, the hint is not lost on 'Dorus' , who is 'full of inwarde joy that hee had wroughte his matters

to suche a towardnes '. He gives Mopsa a present through Pamela's hands, who receives 'into her owne mynde a greate Testimony of the givers worthynes '. This is how matters stand at the end of the second book. In the Second Eclogues (p. 144—145) it is Pamela who asks Histor to tell the story of Musidorus and Pyrocles' adventures after they left Queen Erona. 'And when shee had asked thus muche having had no thing, but vehement desyer, to her Counsell her sweete Body did eeven tremble for feare, leste shee had done a misse '. In the *New Arcadia* (p. 261) the request is, characteristically, transferred to Philoclea.

In the original version, therefore, Pamela, though reserved, is not inflexible. In the revised form, her character has become more complex. To Dorus she is all reserve and lofty bearing; her indifference drives him to despair. When he has told her the story of Musidorus, she only remarks that she had heard it before from Plangus, a knight who had sojourned in Arcadia; and 'with a setled countenance, not accusing any kind of inwarde motion' inquires if he does not know the sequel. After his song she remains ' without shew either of favour or disdaine, either of heeding or neglecting what I had said'. Her words to Mopsa are modified to: ' if he doo fully proove himselfe such as he saith ..... I know no reason why you shoulde thinke scorne of him '. No covert hints! When Pamela hands Mopsa Dorus' present, 'in the Princesse I could finde no apprehension of what I either said or did '. Do what he will, her august reserve knows no relaxing.

But a surprise is in store for the reader of the *New Arcadia*. Owing to Gynecia's illness, the two sisters have, for a time, to share one room. One night, Philoclea, returning from a moonlight walk, finds Pamela 'sitting in a chaire, lying backward, with her head almost over the back of it, & looking upon a wax-cãdle which burnt before her ; in one hand holding a letter, in the other her hand-kerchiefe, which had lately dronk up the teares of her eyes, leaving in steed of them, crimsen circles, like redde flakes in the element, when the weather is hottest '. Philoclea entreats her to say what ails her; Pamela 'telling her they might talke better as they lay together, they impoverished their cloathes to inriche their bed '. At first only sighs come from her; 'but at last, I pray you (said she) sweete Philoclea, let us talke

of some other thing; & tell me whether you did ever see any thing so amẽded as our Pastoral sports be, since that Dorus came hether?' Philoclea, herself newly fallen in love, at once understands her sister's state of mind, and frames her answer so as to draw out more. Why should Dorus 'hide so rare giftes under such a block as Dametas?' 'Ah (said Pamela) if you knew the cause: but no more doo I neither [1]); and to say the trueth: but Lord, how are we falne to talke of this fellow?' In spite of evasions, Philoclea makes her confess that she loves Dorus; 'but then Pamela being once set in the streame of her Love, went away a maine withall' — and tells of her triumph at the discovery that her lover was none other than 'even the Prince Musidorus, famous over all Asia, for his heroical enterprises'. So — 'can I without the detestable staine of ungratefulnesse abstaine from loving him?' She is overcome with remorse for her coldness towards Musidorus. In glowing terms she narrates how he had laid himself out to please her, and to furnish further proof of his identity, without arousing the suspicion of her guardians. His splendid display of horsemanship, his dancing the Matachine dance in armour, his acting Paris to her Oenone, with Dametas playing Priamus — 'how delightfull soever it was, my delight might well be in my soule, but it never went to looke out of the window to doo him any comfort. But how much more I found reason to like him, the more I set all the strength of mind to suppresse it, or at lest to conceale it'.

She reads to Philoclea the letter she holds in her hand; it is a valediction from Dorus. 'He in whom you live, to obey you, dieth. Whereof though he plaine, he doth not complaine'. When he had delivered the letter into her hands, so pitiable was his expression that she had twice been on the point of '[taking] curtesie into [her] eyes; but both times the former resolution stopt the entrie of it: so that he departed without obtaining any further kindnesse.' Philoclea comforts her sister till the latter falls asleep.

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[1]) Compare the way in which Portia in *The Merchant of Venice,* allows her tongue to run away with her: 'Yes, yes: it was *Bassanio;* as I thinke, so was he call'd'. (I, II.)

Thus Sidney has turned the comparative simplicity of the original Pamela into a more complex character, forcibly restraining her impulse in the presence of her lover, but succumbing to remorse when alone. Thus rehandled, the *Arcadia* became a source of literary inspiration to which Richardson, a century and a half later, could go for more than the *name* of his heroine. It may be observed, in passing, that Sidney's Pamela bequeathed her refusal to love below her rank to another high-born lady of romance: Edith Plantagenet in Scott's *Talisman,* who does not accept Sir Kenneth's suit until he has proved to be David, Earl of Huntingdon, Prince Royal of Scotland.

No less striking is the way Sidney has elaborated the character of Philoclea. In the *Old Arcadia* already she has little of the pride and self-control that mark her sister. At her first meeting with the supposed Amazon 'all redy shee conceyved delighte in Cleophilas presence'; though even after her escape from the lion her 'harte had not yet goñ beyond the limittes of a right good will'. By the end of Book I, Philoclea as well as Pamela 'did begin to fynde, they them selves coulde not tell, what kynde of inclinacyon towardes' the two visitors.

The different narrative technique of the revised version necessitated the cancelling of these passages. This seems a loss at first; but ample compensation is made later on. In the first draft the development of Philoclea's love is described in less than thirty lines, divided into two parts with an interval of ten pages of different matter. In the *New Arcadia* this is elaborated into one continuous episode of more than three times the original length. With the possible exception of one phrase [1]), the new version contains no verbal borrowings from the old. Philoclea's internal conflict is analysed as skilfully as that of Pamela; and yet, how great the diversity. Philoclea is 'like a yong faune, who coñing in the wind of the hunters, doth not know whether it be a thing or no to be eschewed.' The 'noble straunger' had attracted her by being the only opportunity for conversation in 'that lonely

[1]) *Old Arcadia,* p. 93, 13-14: 'Shee founde a burning affection towardes *Cleophila,* an unquyet desyer to bee with her', etc. *New Arcadia,* p. 169, 33-34: 'thē streight grew an exceeding delight stil to be with her', etc.

place, where she had nobody but her parents' ; thus Basilius, by inviting Pyrocles to stay with them, is defeating his own purpose of keeping his daughters unmarried. 'Thẽ streight grew an exceeding delight stil to be with her'. She begins to imitate all Zelmane's 'dooings, speeches and fashions, and to take them into herselfe, as a patterne of worthy proceeding. Which when once it was enacted, not onely by the comminaltie of Passions, but agreed unto by her most noble Thoughts, and that [1]) Reason it self (not yet experienced in the issues of such matters) had granted his royal assent; then Friendship (a diligent officer) tooke care to see the statute thorowly observed'.

From imitating 'Zelmane' (= Pyrocles *incognito)* she comes to reciprocating 'her' attentions and caresses, without realizing what it is all leading up to. 'At last she fell in acquaintance with loves harbinger, wishing'. She wished they might live together like two Nymphs; but then they would be in the company of other nymphs 'who would also have their part in Zelmane'. She wishes Zelmane were her sister — but then she might lose her if Zelmane were to marry. At last, she wishes either herself or Zelmane were a *man* — so that they could marry. On this 'whole squadrons of longings' enter her mind: 'then dreames by night beganne to bring more unto her, then she durst wish by day'. 'For now indeed, Love puld of his maske, and shewed his face unto her, and told her plainly, that shee was his prisoner'. She now understands her mother's jealousy, which keeps her away from Zelmane; and gives vent to her pent-up feelings in solitude.

Praz, in the *London Mercury,* dismisses all this as 'would-be psychology'. It seems to me the sneer is altogether undeserved. The episode as elaborated in the *New Arcadia* affords material for a modern psychological novel; and more than *raw* material at that. Sidney knew perfectly well what he was about. In the *Old Arcadia,* as in the *New,* Philoclea seeks the solitude of a grove; and 'laying all her fayre lengthe under one of the Trees for a while, the pore sowle did nothing but turne up and downe, and hyde her face'. In the second version 'the pore sowle' has bcome 'she'. It seems a trifling change, yet it is a significant one.

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[1]) A—D have *by* between *that* and *Reason;* but E and later editions rightly reject it.

The intelligent analysis of Philoclea's state of mind was incompatible with the patronising 'pore sowle'. The words occur three times with respect to Philoclea in the *Old Arcadia;* not once in the *New.*

Equally interesting, though in a lighter vein, is the character sketch of Kalander, the worthy host of Pyrocles and Musidorus before they start on their great adventure. In the original draft he is merely 'Kerxenus a principall gentleman in Mantinea'; it is at his house that the princes see the fateful picture of Basilius with his wife and daughter. He remains a name. In the *New Arcadia* he reappears as Kalander, and has become a character: a worthy, amiable, somewhat garrulous old gentleman, who has enough sense of humour to rally himself on his loquacity. 'And now you know as much as my self: wherin if I have held you over long, lay hardly the fault upon my olde age, which in the very disposition of it is talkative: whether it be (said he smiling) that nature loves to exercise that part most, which is least decayed, and that is our tongue: .....' After Musidorus has rescued his son Clitophon, captured by the Helots, he invites the two princes 'to the hunting of a goodly stagge, which beeing harbored in a wood therby, he hoped would make them good sporte'. Then follows an excellent hunting scene, which all but makes us forget that we are in Arcadia, and not in England. The hearty old squire — the word would suit Kalander perfectly — is in his element. 'Then went they together abroad, the good *Kalander* entertaining thẽ, with pleasaunt discoursing, howe well he loved the sporte of hunting when he was a young man, how much in the comparison thereof he disdained all chamber delights; that the Sunne (how greate a jornie soever he had to make) could never prevent him with earlines, nor the Moone (with her sober countenance) disswade him from watching till midnight for the deeres feeding. O, saide he, you will never live to my age, without you kepe your selves in breath with exercise, and in hart with joyfulness: too much thinking doth consume the spirits: & oft it falles out, that while one thinkes too much of his doing, he leaves to doe the effect of his thinking. Then spared he not to remember how much *Arcadia* was chaunged

since his youth: activitie & good felowship being nothing in the price it was then held in, but according to the nature of the old growing world, still worse & worse. Thẽ would he tell them stories of such gallaunts as he had knowen: and so with pleasant company beguiled the times hast, and shortned the wayes length, till they came to the side of the wood, where the houndes were in couples staying their comming'. When the stag is brought to bay '*Kalander* (by his skill of coasting the Countrey) was among the first that came in to the besiged Deere; whom when some of the younger sort would have killed with their swordes, he woulde not suffer: but with a Crossebowe sent a death to the poore beast, who with teares shewed the unkindnesse he tooke of mans crueltie'.

Before further pursuing the advance in characterisation that distinguishes the *New Arcadia* from the *Old,* it will be well to illustrate the progress made in verisimilitude and in narrative technique. For these we may conveniently turn to the extracts on pp. 59—63, recounting how Musidorus, watching from cover, was smitten with love of Pamela, and what afterwards happened. In the first draft, as soon as he feels the pangs of love (who is no gentle mistress to these young men) he runs away 'like a madd man'. He meets a shepherd on his way to the Eclogues, as Musidorus understands of him '(for Love ys full of desyer, and desyer ys allwayes inquisitive)'. He changes clothes with him, learns all he needs about his occupations, and sends him to Thessalia with a secret order to a friend to keep him there. He then returns to the neighbourhood of the lodge. All this in two hours' time!

In the revised version this passage is much improved. It has almost become a good yarn. 'The day I parted from you, I being in mind to returne to a towne, from whence I came hether, my horse being before tired, would scarce beare me a mile hence: where being benighted, the light of a candle (I saw a good way of) guided me to a young shepheards house, by name *Menalcas*.....' etc. He agrees to stay with him, and during a visit to Zelmane's arbour 'had the sight ..... of a Goddesse, who in a definite compasse can set forth infinite beauty'. Zelmane,

thinking he means Philoclea, is 'racked with jealousie'! Musidorus repeats what he said to himself (transferred with minor alterations from the first draft) — and then he saw a sight — 'which sight?' says Zelmane, unable to bear him any longer. Musidorus sets him at ease.

For the remainder of the revised passage I may refer to the extract. Instead of a pageful of improbable hurry, the action is allowed proper time to proceed, with a commensurate gain in verisimilitude. The introduction of Pyrocles-Zelmane's jealous anxiety is a very good trait, making the story more human.

It is curious to note that not only did Sidney amplify and refine upon his original composition, but that when at work on the latter he was frequently conscious of his as yet insufficiently developed powers. A few lines beyond the point where our extract from the *Old Arcadia* breaks off we find the following confession: Musidorus 'begañ to recoumpt unto her all this I have allredy toulde yow: But with suche passionate delating of yt, that, for my parte *I have not a feeling Insighte enoughe into the matter, to bee able lyvely to express yt,* suffyseth yt, that what so ever a possessed hart, with a good tongue to a dere frende coulde utter, was at that tyme largely sett forthe'. A similar admission of impotence is to be found on page 45 of the *Old Arcadia:* 'But so wonderfull and in effect incredible, was the passion wch rayned aswell in *Ginecia,* as *Basilius* and all for the pore *Cleophila* dedicated, an other way: That *yt seemes to my self I use not wordes enowe to make yow see, how they coulde in one moment bee so overtaken*'. No such apologies were needed in the revised version; nor do we find any [1]).

The same couple of extracts will reveal an important difference in narrative technique. That from the first *Arcadia* opens with an apostrophe to the 'fayre Ladyes' for whom the romance was originally written. This direct address to the fair readers is quite frequent in the *Old Arcadia* [2]), where the author repeatedly

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[1]) It is true that once (vol. I, p. 213, ll. 19-20) Sidney uses the phrase: 'I am not cunning inough to be able to expresse'; but this is in the nature of a rhetorical omission.

[2]) Compare Lyly's frequent apostrophes to the 'Gentlemen' *(Euphues,* passim.)

speaks in the first person. 'Suche was this *Amazons* attyre, and thus did *Pyrocles* become *Cleophila*, whiche name for a tyme, hereafter I will use. For, I my self feele suche Compassion of his passyon, that, I fynde even parte of his feare, leste his name shoulde bee uttered before fitt tyme were for yt: whiche yow faire Ladyes, that vouchesave to reade this (I doubte not) will accoumpte excusable'. (p. 24, ll. 13-19) — 'The *Duke* amased to see suche extreme shewes of feare asked the matter of them, but, feare had so possessed theyre Inwarde partes, that theyre breathe coulde not serve to tell him, But after suche a broken maner, that I thinke yt not best, to truble yow, fayre Ladyes, with theyre panting speeches, but, to make a full Declaracõn of yt my self, and thus yt was'. (p. 41, ll. 33-38) — 'Yt were a very superfluous thinge to tell yow, how glad eche party was of the happy returning from those daungers: And doubt yow not, fayre Ladyes, there wanted no questioning how thinges had passed, but bycause I will have the thanckes my self, yt shall bee I yow shall heare yt of, And thus the Auncyent Recordes of *Arcadia* say, yt fell owte'. (p. 47, ll. 13-18.) The lines just quoted from page 45 of the *Old Arcadia* in which Sidney confesses he cannot find words to describe the passion of Gynecia and Basilius, are followed by this direct appeal: 'But, yow worthy Ladyes, that have at any tyme feelingly knowne what yt meanes, will easily beleeve the possibility of yt, let the ignorant sorte of people give credit unto them that have passed the Dolefull passage'.

In the revised version these apostrophes no longer intrude upon the narrative [1]). Apparently, Sidney was not thinking of his sister's coterie when he recast the romance. Whether this means that he contemplated a larger audience, the publicity of print perhaps, must for the present remain an open question. The disappearance of the apostrophes seems to point in this direction, but, without corroborative evidence, can hardly be held to prove any such hypothesis.

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[1]) More instances may be found on p. 34, ll. 8-9; p. 35, ll. 18-24; p. 44, l. 25; p. 51, ll. 2-3, 8-10; and see above, p. 82. The first person, but without an address to the 'fayre Ladyes', has been preserved in one instance, cf. *Old Arcadia*, p. 103, ll. 14-18; *New Arcadia*, p. 168, l. 39 — p. 169, l. 3.

Some of these cancelled passages contain another peculiar trick of the original version, which also occurs independently, and the abandoning of which has a definite artistic significance. On page 35 of the *Old Arcadia*, l. 13 ff., we read: 'Thus wth some other wordes of enterteyning, her staying was concluded to ye inspeakeable joy of the *Duke*, allthoughe perchaunce wth some litle envy in the other Ladyes, to see younge *Philocleas* beuty so advaunced.

Yow Ladyes knowe best whether sometymes yow feele impression of that passion, for my parte, I wolde hardly thincke that the affection of a mother and the noble mynde of *Pamela* coulde bee over throwne wth so base a thing as envy ys: Especially, *Pamela*, to whome fortune had all redy framed an other, who no less was dedicated to her excellencyes, then *Cleophila* was to *Philocleas* perfection, as yow shall shortly heare'.

The concluding words embody a device dear to many novelists, from Lyly to Stevenson [1]). In the *Old Arcadia* the trick is disturbingly frequent. In the new version it is given up; but, unlike the apostrophes, a subtler device sometimes replaces it. Instead of downright anticipations of future events, hints are often thrown out that reveal their full significance in the course of the story. Our first couple of extracts contains a case in point. 'Hee marryed *Gynecia*, the Daughter of the Kinge of *Cyprus*, a Lady worthy enoughe to have had her Name in continuall Remembrance, yf her later tyme had not blotted her well governed youthe: Allthoughe the wounde fell more to her owne Conscyence, then to the knouledg of the worlde, fortune somethinge supplying her wante of vertue'. Here is 'straightforwardness' with a vengeance. How much more subtly is this handled in the revision. According to Kalander, Gynecia is 'of most unspotted chastitie, but of so working a minde, and so vehement spirits, as a man may say, it was happie shee tooke a good course: for otherwise it would have beene terrible'. Later on, when the reader

[1]) See A. G. van Kranendonk, Notes on Methods of Narration in some English Novels. *English Studies*, February 1922, IV, 1-10. As to Lyly, cf. *Euphues*, ed. Croll, p. 11: 'as in the sequel of this history shall most manifestly appear'; p. 29: 'as in the sequel of Euphues and Philautus you shall see'.

comes to Gynecia's downfall, these words may recur to him as a premonition. In this form the device is akin to Shakespeare's method, rather than to Stevenson's:

> *Solanio.* Let good *Anthonio* looke he keepe his day,
> Or he shall pay for this.
> *Salarino.* Marry well remembred.
> I reason'd with a Frenchman yesterday,
> Who told me, in the narrow seas that part
> The French and English, there miscaried
> A vessell of our countrey richly fraught:
> I thought upon *Anthonio* when he told me,
> And wisht in silence that it were not his.
>
> *The Merchant of Venice*, II, VIII, 25-32.

On page 26 of the *New Arcadia*, Kalander's concluding words on Basilius' retirement give earnest of the troubles that are ahead, without any blunt intervention by the author: 'For, having lost the sterne of his government, with much amazement to the people, among whom many strange bruits are received for currant, and with some apparance of daunger in respect of the valiant *Amphialus* [1]), his nephew, & much envy in the ambitious number of the Nobilitie against *Philanax*, to see *Philanax* so advaunced', etc. (ll. 25-30). It is like the rumble of a distant tempest. In a similar way, Philanax warns Basilius in his letter against banishing his daughters from company, 'least, I know not what strange loves should follow' (p. 25, ll. 20-21). Nor is Philanax the only person endowed with a prophetic soul. After the assault of the lion and the bear, Cecropia sends a man 'to excuse the mischance of her beastes ranging in that dãgerous sort, being happened by the folly of the keeper'. Basilius does not suspect any foul play; 'but *Gynecia* tooke a further conceit of it, mistrusting *Cecropia*, ..... and therefore saw no reason, but that she might conjecture, it proceeded rather of some mischievous practise, than of misfortune'. Her conjecture will prove to be well-founded; but neither here nor elsewhere is the future anticipated by information that none of the actors could have had at their disposal, as is repeatedly the case in the *Old Arcadia*.

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[1]) All the printed editions collated by Feuillerat seem to spell *Amphalus* here.

Sidney has been accused of spoiling 'his mustering of Philoclea's first love thoughts'[1]). The matter has been touched upon above (page 78). If there be a slight loss in this instance, the cause is in the different narrative technique, not in any artistic obtuseness on Sidney's part. We have seen that there is ample compensation in Philoclea's story as elaborated in the new version; and more is provided by the way Pyrocles' first love-thoughts are mustered there. Let us bear in mind the bluntness with which Pamela's love story is anticipated in the original (see above, p. 84); and then read Lib. 1, Chap. 8 of the *New Arcadia*. 'But no waie he [Kalander] sawe he could so much pleasure them, as by leaving the two friends alone, who being shruncke aside to the banqueting house where the pictures were .....' (p. 51, ll. 7-9). '..... & so upon occasiō of the pictures present delivered with the franknesse of a friends tongue, as neere as he could, word by word what *Kalander* had told him touching the strange storie (with al the particularities belonging) of *Arcadia*, which did in many sortes so delight *Pyrocles* to heare; that he would needs have much of it againe repeated, and was not contented till *Kalander* him selfe had answered him divers questions'. (*ib.*, ll. 28-35). 'But first at *Musidorus* request, though in brief māner, his mind much running upō the strange storie of *Arcadia*, he did declare .....' (p. 52, ll.1-3). W'›n Pyrocles has finished his 'declaration', 'they called *Kalander*, of whom *Daiphantus* [= Pyrocles] desired to heare the full storie, which before hee [Kalander] had recounted to *Palladius*, and to see the letter of *Philanax*, which hee read and well marked' (p. 53, ll. 24-27). Within a few days, the marriage between Argalus and Parthenia is celebrated. As Pyrocles marks the bride, 'O *Jupiter* (said he speaking to *Palladius*) how happens it, that Beautie is onely confined to *Arcadia?* But *Palladius* not greatly attending his speach' ..... the day pass by in festivities.

I have given these passages without comment, as they stand. Having 'read and well marked' them, let us proceed to chap. 9. 'But such a chaunge was growen in *Daiphantus*, that .....

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[1]) Mario Praz, l. c. p. 510.

he would ever get him selfe alone .....: even the colour and figure of his face began to receave some alteration'. (p. 54, ll. 18 ff.) When Musidorus notices the change in his friend's habits and appearance, he proposes to him to return to their country; but to his remonstrances Pyrocles turns a deaf ear. Just as Musidorus is beginning to have an inkling of the truth, Kalander interrupts their discourse by inviting them to the hunt; and after the hunt Pyrocles has disappeared, leaving a note for Musidorus from which he learns no more than that his friend is gone. He suspects love to be the motive for this mysterious and uncourteous departure, but is completely in the dark as to the whereabouts of the supposed fair one. 'One time he thought, some beautie in *Laconia* had layed hold of his eyes; an other time he feared, that it might be *Parthenias* excellencie, which had broken the bands of all former resolution'. When after some months' separation the two friends meet again, Pyrocles rehearses the events before his disappearance from his point of view, and the passages quoted are revealed for what they are: subtle hints interspersed through the narrative, the clue withheld so as to create that suspense which, in Harington's words, '[draws] a man with a continuall thirst to reade out the whole worke'. Characteristically, whereas chap. 8 is wholly new, Pyrocles' own account in chap. 13 is partly a cutting from the *Old Arcadia* (page 9), with one interpolation: 'whē even *Parthenias* faire face became a lecture to me of *Philocleas* imagined beautie'. Musidorus will now understand the speech he had not greatly attended at the time.

With this subtle method of hint and suspence, leading up gradually to the climax where everything is explained, contrast the artless procedure of the *Old Arcadia*, where Pyrocles simply announces to his astonished friend his intention of donning disguise, and where after some argument the latter assists him in carrying out his plan. The difference between the two *Arcadias* is quite insufficiently expressed by the antithesis of 'straightforwardness' and involution. In many instances, it is rather one between subtlety on the one hand and artistic immaturity on the other.

At the same time, it is important to observe that in some cases

the revised version is *more direct* than the original. We have seen that the brief 'mustering of Philoclea's love-thoughts' in the first draft, barely thirty lines in all, is interrupted half-way by ten pages of other matter. In the *New Arcadia*, this study of 'a young virgin in love' occupies three pages and a half, without a break of continuity. A similar instance of straightforward narrative is the episode from the *New Arcadia* (p. 308—310) reproduced above on pages 63—67. In the original version, it is split into two parts, Gynecia's dream preceding the interview between Pyrocles and Philoclea, whereas in the revision the dream follows, and there is no break between it and Gynecia's departure in quest of her daughter. In various other ways, too, this episode has been improved. In the original, it is Basilius 'that God knowes knewe no reason whye hee mighte spare to tell' t' who informs her that '*Philoclea* was goñ to enterteyne the Lady *Cleophila*'. In the revised version, more effectively, '*Miso* forthwith like a valiant shrew, (looking at *Basilius*, as though she would speake though she died for it) tolde *Gynecia*, that her daughter had bene a whole houre togither in secrete talke with *Zelmane*'. In both versions, Basilius tries to remove her alarm; the *New Arcadia* inserts: 'Basilius *(that aymed nothing at the marke of her suspition)*' etc. In the first draft, Gynecia burns 'to tell Basilius, *what, and upon what reasons shee thoughte* Cleophila, to bee farr other then the owtewarde apparence'; in the second, this becomes, with more directness: '..... *how she knewe* Zelmane to be .....' In the *Old Arcadia*, Gynecia allows her husband to detain her, while in the meantime Zelmane and Philoclea are having their interview; in the *New*, no such concession has to be made to the 'straightforward' story, and Gynecia, in spite of Basilius' solicitude, 'as weake as she was, she gat up'. When at last, in the first draft, Gynecia breaks away from her husband, the author apostrophizes Jealousy, by way of an impersonal statement; in the second, the words, put into Gynecia's mouth, become a direct expression of her conflicting emotions. Basilius, in the original, keeps her no longer because he supposes that by this time his daughter will have performed his message; in the revision, this sentence is cancelled, and the attention remains concentrated

on Gynecia. An extraneous comparison of Gynecia to the Trojan women running to burn Aeneas' ships, also goes by the board. The song is preserved, but the absurdity of 'The songe was this, thoughe her leysure served her not as then to singe yt' is mitigated as much as possible by: 'But her unleasured thoughtes ran not over the ten first wordes'.

Thus, by a number of subtle touches, but mainly by gathering into one the disconnected parts, Sidney has given this episode a far more telling effect than it produces in the original version.

## *Gynecia.*

Having indicated some of the principal respects in which the *New Arcadia* marks an advance on the *Old* — characterisation, verisimilitude, narrative technique — we may now observe the combined effect of a series of retouches of one of the most interesting personages in the book, Gynecia. Unlike the characters of Pamela and Philoclea, hers is almost fully developed in the original version; and the alterations which Sidney thought it necessary to make in her case are slight compared with the rehandling of the passages concerned with her daughters. Such as they are, they seem to betray a certain sympathy of the author with the tragic figure of this passionate queen, a desire to uphold her dignity, which is absent in his treatment of her husband Basilius. Sidney Lee, who could not even trouble to spell her name correctly, dismisses her as 'Synesia, the lascivious old (*sic*) queen' [1]). A tribute has been paid to Sidney for this character by the French critic Jusserand (*The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare)*: 'Sidney has, among several others, created [2]) one character which, forgotten as it is now, would be enough to give a permanent interest to this too much neglected romance; it is the Queen Gynecia, who is the worthy contemporary of the strongly passionate heroes of Marlowe's plays. With her, and for the first time, the dramatic power of English

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[1]) *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 136.

[2]) According to Wolff, Gynecia is 'derived' from Melitta in Achilles Tatius' romance *Clitophon and Leucippe*.

genius leaves the stage and comes to light in the novel; it was destined to pass into it entirely'. [1])

We have already noted (*vide supra*, p. 74, ll. 84-85) how Gynecia's character is much more clearly defined at the first mention of her name in the revised version than had been the case in the original; and how the blunt forestalling of her downfall is in the *New Arcadia* reduced to the merest hint. Instead of it being stated at the outset that she actually fell into sin, she is described as one liable to err, should temptation come her way. In the *Old Arcadia*, she appears to Pyrocles' sight 'with a countenaunce and behavyour farr unlike to falle into those inconvenyences shee afterwardes tasted of'. (p. 33, ll. 13-14.) The new version, more chivalrous to Gynecia, has: '..... with countenaunce and gesture sutable, and of such fairnes (being in the strength of her age) as if her daughters had not bene by, might with just price have purchased admiration; but they being there, it was enough that the most dainty eye would thinke her a worthy mother of such children'. (p. 89, ll. 26-31.)

Her recognition of, and passion for, the disguised Pyrocles is related directly in the *Old Arcadia*, indirectly, viz. by Pyrocles himself, in the *New*. This naturally requires a different choice of words. 'For so the truthe ys that, at the first sighte shee had of *Cleophila*, her harte gave her [2]), shee was a man' (*Old Arcadia*, p. 44, ll. 13-14.) — 'No more than a few words', Praz observes, 'but Sidney hardly approached such directness a second time'. He then quotes the passage in the new version in which Pyrocles himself narrates 'Gynecia's love at first sight', and comments: 'Here Sidney tries to be deep, and to imagine all possible reasons for Gynecia's behaviour, and of course misses the mark he had already hit so successfully in the first instance. In the old version he depicts life, in the new one he

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[1]) *Op. cit.* p. 247.

[2]) As appears further on this means no more than that she *suspects* Cleophila of being a man; on page 88 of the *Old Arcadia*, ll. 15-16, she sighs: 'But alas, *sure I am not* that Cleophila ys suche, as can answer my Love'. In the *New Arcadia*, however, she is positive: '..... *sure I am*, that Zelmane is such as can answere my love'. (p. 146, ll. 23-24.)

gives us a barren casuistry'. It must here be objected that, while doing justice to the *Old Arcadia*, Praz is not quite fair to the *New*. Not Sidney, but Pyrocles, tries 'to imagine all possible reasons for Gynecia's behaviour'; the author is omniscient, and can be direct; the actors can, at first, only guess at each other's motives.

Most of Gynecia's story is given in direct narrative in the revised version as well. Several little touches deserve to be noted. The words 'carrying this unquyet contention aboute him' are transferred from Basilius to her, as has been remarked. During the attack of the wild beasts, she *'had bene in such a traunce of musing*, that Zelmane was fighting with the Lion, before she knew of any Lions cõming: but then affection resisting, and the soone ending of the fight preventing all extremitie of feare, she marked Zelmanes fighting' (p. 120, ll. 23-27). This is from the *New Arcadia;* the old version has only: 'whose looke had all this while bene uppon the Combate eying so fixedly Cleophilas maner of feighting, that no feare did preveyle over her' (p. 43, l. 40 — p. 44, l. 2).

After the fight, Pyrocles is found to be wounded: 'But yt was sporte to see howe in one instant bothe *Basilius & Ginecia* (like a Father and Mother to a beloved Chylde) came ronning to see the wounde of *Cleophila'*. The new version reads: 'But then they ran both unto her, like a father and mother to an onely childe'. The change is slight, but, like the omission of 'pore sowle' with reference to Philoclea, of some significance. 'Sporte' is an appropriate word, also in the *New Arcadia*, with regard to Basilius' infatuation; as applied to Gynecia, the word strikes a false note, and is, therefore, deleted.

In accordance with his endeavour to remove anything likely to impair her tragic dignity, Sidney has modified a place in the *Old Arcadia* in which Gynecia stands guilty of irreverence: 'O vertue, how well I see, thow werte never but a vayne name' etc. (p. 87, ll. 34-35). This has become: 'O Vertue, where doost thou hide thy selfe? or what hideous thing is this which doth eclips thee? or is it true that thou weart never but a vaine name', etc. (*New Arcadia*, p. 146, ll. 5-7). The blasphemy of the

original version has been toned down to an utterance of despairing doubt [1]).

It remains to note two additions to the narrative of the *Old Arcadia*. In the new version, Gynecia's unbridled passion makes her physically ill. As in the original she is 'full of raging agonies, and determinatly bent, that as she would seeke all *loving* [this word is absent in the original] meanes to winne *Zelmane*, so she would stirre up terrible tragedies, rather then faile of her entent'. The revised version continues: 'And so went she from them to the lodge-ward, with such a battaile in her thoughts, and so deadly an overthrow given to her best resolutions, that even her bodie (where the fielde was fought) was oppressed withall: making a languishing sicknesse waite upon the triumph of passion; which the more it prevailed in her, the more it made her jelousie watchfull, both over her daughter, and *Zelmane;* having ever one of them entrusted to her owne eyes'. (I, 150, 9-20.)

Soon after, her coach being overturned, she has her shoulder put out of joint, and is obliged to stay in bed. She sends for Miso, Philoclea's guardian, to attend her, and orders Philoclea to sleep with Pamela. Thus the scene between the two sisters to which we have already referred (see page 76) is properly motived.

The linking up of the passages describing her dream and her quest of Philoclea, dealt with above (page 88) constitutes the finishing touch in this series of revisions. None of them are very drastic in themselves, but taken as a body, they testify to Sidney's conscious and deliberate rehandling of this character, no less than of those previously discussed.

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[1]) Professor Kern draws my attention to the fact that, by so doing, Sidney departed from the classical quotation which he had borrowed in the *Old Arcadia* (see Dio Cassius, liber 47, 49): καὶ ἀναβοήσας (Brutus) τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ἡράκλειον

ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε
ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ

παρεκάλεσέ τινα τῶν συνόντων, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ.

Similarly, in the scene where Philoclea gives vent to her feelings in the grove, the *Old Arcadia* (p. 106, l. 14) has: '[O, yee starres .....] yow *can* not help mee'; the new version (p. 174, l. 19): 'you *will* not help me'. Here again, the impiety is deleted; no ascription of impotence to the star-deities. Compare also p. 97 of the present chapter.

### *The Arcadian Rebellion.*

Thus far we have been mainly occupied with individual personages, and with the revision of passages of no very great length. It remains to be seen whether the results arrived at are confirmed by a comparison of the treatment of some episodes of more amplitude.

In both versions Gynecia has no sooner put an end to Pyrocles' tête-à-tête with her daughter, and sent Philoclea home, than her own overtures to the pretended Amazon are cut short by the arrival of a mutinous multitude, consisting of a number of Basilius' subjects who, dissatisfied with the king's mysterious seclusion, have risen in revolt. The situation is eventually saved by the prowess and eloquence of Pyrocles-Zelmane. In the *Old Arcadia,* the multitude consists of 'an unruly sorte of Clownes'; the *New Arcadia* adds: 'and other rebels'. As soon as they espy the ladies, they run upon them 'as right villaines, thinking abilitie to doo hurte, to be a great advancement' (*New Arcadia,* p. 311; the first draft has words to the same effect). Zelmane keeps the rebels at bay, while Gynecia and Philoclea escape into the lodge, out of which Basilius issues 'to prove his authoritie among his subjects'; in the *New Arcadia,* he has the good sense to bring a shield for Pyrocles-Zelmane. Together they put up a brave defence; 'yet at length', as the original has it, 'the many handes woulde have preveyled ageanst these twoo, had not the noble Shepearde *Dorus* hearde this noyse, and come to theyre succoure'. The revised version reads: 'And by and by was both her harte and helpe well encreased by the comming of *Dorus*'. Pyrocles' valour is, of course, enhanced by the alteration. The *Old Arcadia* now relates that Dorus had been in the company of some shepherds, uttering his joy at his initial success with Pamela in a song which was answered with a doleful one by the shepherd Philisides. This digression, rather out of place in the midst of a scene of perilous combat, is deleted in the revision; another instance of more straightforward narration in the *New Arcadia,* which condenses it all into '..... *Dorus,* who having been making of hurdles for his masters sheepe, hearde .....'. After the songs, which are given in full in the original, Dorus

goes to his friend's rescue, accompanied by Philisides and other shepherds; in the revision, he goes, indeed is, alone. Thus, his prowess, like that of Pyrocles, is emphasized by the revision. In the original, he finds Pyrocles and Basilius making their last stand, 'wearyed with the excessive nomber of them'; 'and Cryinge, Corage, here ys *Dorus* to his dere frende *Cleophila*' joins forces with them. They recover the lodge and bar the gates; the rebels seek fire to burn them. At this point the narrative is again interrupted (in the *Old Arcadia*) for an account of the cause of the mutiny. Here, too, the *New Arcadia* is superior. There is nothing about Pyrocles' weariness, nor does Dorus shout; they retire together step by step, 'like a valiant mastiffe, whom when his master pulles backe by the taile from the beare (with whom he hath alreadie interchanged a hatefull imbracement) though his pace be backwarde, his gesture is foreward, his teeth and eyes threatening more in the retiring, then they did in the advancing'. Another glimpse of contemporary England, this bear-baiting simile. Then follows (in the *New Arcadia*) a macabre description of the bloodshed wrought by the two heroes, to which we will revert in a later chapter, noting here only that it carries on, instead of retarding, the narrative.

After the explanation of the cause of the rebellion (with which we will deal presently), Pyrocles-Zelmane, to prevent the rebels setting fire to the lodge, opens the gate again, and issues forth to address them. In the *Old Arcadia*, 'her' mere appearance procures her a hearing. In the *New*, she is, as we should expect, received with shouts and cries, some even beginning to throw stones at her. But a young farmer among the mob, 'caught in a little affection towardes *Zelmane*', manages to silence the clamour. She then surprises the crowd by asking them to appoint a spokesman to lay their grievances before Basilius. It now appears that there is no agreement among them on the most important points; and when the discord is becoming serious, Zelmane speaks a second time; using much the same words as in her first speech in the original version.

In size, the passage has been amplified from thirteen lines to two pages; and there is the same advance in verisimilitude that we noticed in the story of Musidorus and Menalcas (see

above, page 82). The additions also throw light on what may be conveniently called Sidney's 'thought', and as such will be dealt with separately.

Zelmane's speech has a somewhat analogous effect to the more famous address of Mark Antony. A promise of pardon and of consideration of grievances clinches the argument in the *New Arcadia*. In the original version, the mob divides against itself. In the revision it is Clinias, 'a verball craftie coward', who as the agent of Cecropia, had stirred up the rebellion, who, seeing the tide turning, thinks it good policy to be the first in openly joining the side of the Prince. The young farmer, who is of a different mind, strikes him a blow on the face, thereby giving the signal for a general fight. Basilius' new partisans beat off their opponents, and receive a general pardon for their trouble.

In the *New Arcadia* Clinias now gives Basilius an account of the origin of the rebellion. His opening words again show how Sidney had advanced in the art of descriptive narration. In the *Old Arcadia*, we read of 'a Maner the *Arcadians* had, to solempnize the Princes byrthe dayes with banquetting together: ..... This Custome beeyng generall, was particulerly this tyme of *Basilius* nativity observed by a village, nere the Dezarte of the twoo Lodges, called *Phagona*'. In the *New Arcadia*, this has been recast as follows: 'Yesterday (said he) being your birth-day, in the goodly greene two mile hence before the city of *Enispus*, to do honour to the day, were a four or five thousand people (of all conditions, as I thinke) gathered together, spending al the day in dancings and other exercises: and when night came, under tents and bowes making great cheare, and meaning to observe a wassaling watch all that night for your sake'. Again, the words seem to carry a flavour of Elizabethan England. For their graphic detail, they may be compared with the opening lines of Musidorus' story, quoted on page 59.

Lastly, it should be noted that, in the *New Arcadia*, this episode, like the one in which the ladies are attacked by wild beasts, is represented as the outcome of the machinations of Cecropia, Basilius' sister-in-law, who wants to secure the throne of Arcadia for her son Amphialus. In the first draft these episodes are merely incidents in the course of events, designed

to bring out the prowess of the two disguised princes. In the revised version, they are structural; as we study the way in which they are linked up with what was to become the central action of the *New Arcadia* — the great struggle of Book III — we realise that the greater complexity of the new version is attended by a corresponding advance in plot construction.

### *Plangus and Erona.*

One of the most interesting episodes of the *Arcadia* for our present purpose is the story of Plangus and Erona. In the original version it occurs in the first Eclogues, where it occupies little more than two pages (62, l. 25— 67, l. 30). In the *New Arcadia,* it has been cut into two parts. The former half is told on p. 232, l. 17 — p. 236, bottom, and corresponds, with some variations, to p. 63, l. 13 — p. 65, l. 20 of the original, except that p. 65, ll. 1-10 has been elaborated into p. 235, top, — p. 236, l. 28 of the new version. The latter half (*Old Arcadia,* p. 65, l. 20 — p. 67, l. 30) has been entirely rewritten and considerably expanded, forming p. 330, l. 8 — p. 337, l. 17 of the revision.

The treatment of this episode is typical of that of the whole romance, and a comparison of the two versions provides further illustration of Sidney's progress as a literary artist along the lines already indicated. The preliminary details are different in either case. In the *Old Arcadia* one of the shepherds, Dicus, sings a song in which Cupid is blasphemed. Histor, another shepherd, grows indignant, and offers to tell the assembled company a tale of Cupid's revenge. 'As hee was twoo dayes before sitting in the shade of a Busshe', he heard Plangus, an Iberian nobleman, utter his lamentation to Boulon in a song, the subject of which the said Plangus had afterwards detailed to Histor.

The *New Arcadia* has a different preamble. On page 162 Plangus is said by Pamela to have told her father the story of Pyrocles and Musidorus [1]). *Ib.*, pp. 177—178, and again p. 214, he is mentioned as one of the three famous men of arms of the king of Armenia. On p. 226, we hear of a 'complaint' of Plangus,

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[1]) Cf. above, p. 76.

written on the back of a paper. Basilius had met him by the wayside and fallen into talk with him: 'who at first not knowing him, answered him in such a desperate phrase of griefe, that my Father afterward tooke a delight to set it downe in such forme as you see'. Basilius, it will be observed, is the artist *pur sang*, who values a fellow-man's tale of sorrow for its effectiveness as dramatic material. The poem finds its way into the hands of Zelmane, who, after reading it, requests Philoclea to tell 'her' the whole story.

Erona is the only daughter of the king of Lydia [1]), which country is so much devoted to Cupid that his naked pictures and images are everywhere set up for worship. Though only fourteen years old, she persuades her father to have all these abominations removed and destroyed. For this she is terribly punished, Cupid causing her to fall in love, before she is a year older, with a base-born man, Antiphilus, the son of her nurse. Her father wants to marry her to the king of Persia; but she refuses to marry anyone but Antiphilus, and by her obstinacy at last breaks her father's heart. Immediately after his death, she means to marry Antiphilus, but before she can accomplish this, the king of Persia declares war on her, in order to force her to marry him, and besieges Erona in her capital.

Thus far the story is all but identical in the two versions. The most notable alterations are these: in the *New Arcadia* Erona is nineteen years of age, instead of fourteen; perhaps because, on second thoughts, Sidney found her rather young for all the calamities that were to fall upon her. In the *Old Arcadia*, her motive is 'the hate of that god'; in the *New*, 'the esteeming that could be no Godhead, which could breed wickednes'; hate is, therefore, replaced by a moral or religious motive [2]).

The original states plainly: 'whiche howe terribly hee [viz. Cupid] punisshed, quickly after, appeared'; the new version inserts after 'punished' — '(for to that the *Lydians* impute it.)' In the *Old Arcadia*, Antiphilus is 'so meane, as y^t^ hee was but the sonne of her Nurse, and by y^t^ meane came knowne to her'. The

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[1]) The 1590 Quarto has *Lycia*, but the Folios agree with the *Old Arcadia* in writing *Lydia*.

[2]) Cf. p. 92.

revision has: '& by that meanes (without other desert) became knowen of her'. Presumably 'desert', if any, might have outweighed mean birth. The king of Persia is replaced by him of Armenia. Then there are some stylistic differences, which will be discussed in the chapter on style.

At this juncture, Pyrocles and Musidorus land in Lydia, and hasten to Erona's rescue. The *Old Arcadia* says that they 'did so muche with theyre incomparable valure, as that they gatt into ye City, and by theyre presence muche repelled *Otaves* assautes'. Characteristically, these two lines have in the *New Arcadia* been elaborated into ten, and the 'incomparable valure' has been reduced to terms of practical warfare. An attack by a body of Lydians led by Pyrocles and Musidorus, timed to coincide with a sally from the city, so shakes the besiegers that the two princes 'with their succoures both of men and victuall' can enter the fortress. Another glimpse of contemporary life, this.

The king, realising that all this will prolong the war, proposes to bring matters to a decision by means of a combat between three princes in his own retinue (one of whom is Plangus), and Pyrocles, Musidorus and Antiphilus on behalf of Erona. In the *Old Arcadia* the fight takes place without more ado; in the *New*, seven lines are interpolated, in which Antiphilus, before accepting the challenge, deliberates whether he cannot back out of the whole affair; but finding this impossible, reluctantly agrees. The result is that Pyrocles and Musidorus kill their opponents, but that Antiphilus is taken prisoner by Plangus; upon which the king decides to continue the war. He now sends word to Erona that unless she yields to his desire, he will, the next morning, strike off Antiphilus' head before the walls of the town. In the *New Arcadia*, Erona is allowed two more days to make up her mind; with the additional threat 'that if in the meane time she did her selfe any hurt, what tortures could be devised should be layed upon *Antiphilus*' (page 234, bottom). The potential *tertium quid* of the original thus ruled out, Erona finds herself in the most terrible dilemma.

'Then loe, was *Cupids* worcke well seene, for hee had brought this miserable Princess to suche a Case', — thus the *Old Arcadia*. The revision adopts the more sceptic view of later times:

'Then lo if *Cupid* be a God, or that the tyranny of our own thoughts seeme as a God unto us. But whatsoever it was, then it did set foorth the miserablenes of his effectes'. (Compare above, p. 97.)

The original version then gives four lines to Erona's internal conflict; the *New Arcadia* elaborates them to forty-five. Love, like a right 'makebate', whispers to both sides arguments of quarrel. First, he pictures her to herself as the wife of the Armenian king, still craving for Antiphilus, whom she can never win. Compliance will mean base betrayal of Antiphilus' love. When Love has well kindled that part of her thoughts, he goes to the other side. All her former arguments now appear to proceed from love of herself; how can she allow Antiphilus to die? She grows distracted. Suicide she dare not commit for fear of the tortures threatened against Antiphilus. At length, the evening before the day appointed for his death, he sends her a message, beseeching her to save his life upon any condition. She sends word to king Tiridates that she will yield. As soon as the messenger is gone, she repents, and goes to the two princes, entreating them to try some way for her deliverance; 'shewing her selfe resolved, not to over-live *Antiphilus*, nor yet to yeeld to *Tiridates*'.

Jusserand's remark on Gynecia that 'with her, and for the first time, the dramatic power of English genius leaves the stage and comes to light in the novel' [1]) may with equal propriety be applied to Erona. Antiphilus, too, is in the tradition of English drama; does not his abject message to Erona evoke Claudio in *Measure for Measure?* Even the essence of the Duke's speech in act III is here: 'His death is a worke of nature, and either now, or at another time he shall die'. Sidney was an admirer of Seneca; and both the psychology and the Stoicism of Seneca are implied in the story of Erona, as they are in that of Claudio and Isabella.

In the *Old Arcadia* the knot is cut by 'the Matcheles Corage of those Twoo Princes'; 'for the same nighte with a desperate *Camisada*, they pearsed into the midst of his Army, where *Otaves* valyantly defending him self was by *Pyrocles* slayne,

[1]) See above, p. 90.

and *Antiphilus* by *Musidorus* rescewed'. It is all very simple. In the *New Arcadia* things are more complicated, with a proportionate gain in probability. Erona's change of mind has the effect of a stratagem; when the Princes, ignorant of Erona's message, and therefore themselves innocent of trickery, make a sally in the dead of night, they take Tiridates off his guard. Like their entry into the city, their exit has been brought within the compass of real warfare.

Artaxia, sister to the dead king of Persia (resp. Armenia), who had accompanied him on his expedition, is safely conveyed home by Plangus, vowing revenge upon 'every one of the Occasyoners' ; in the *New Arcadia,* she proclaims 'great rewards to any private man, and her selfe in mariage to any Prince, that would destroy *Pyrocles* and *Musidorus*', whom she very naturally accuses of abominable treason. The two Greek princes now set out upon another adventure, leaving Erona married to Antiphilus.

From this point onwards the story has been entirely rewritten. In the original *Arcadia,* it runs briefly as follows. While a prisoner in the king of Persia's camp, Antiphilus had fallen in love with the fair Artaxia. When he has become king he secretly informs her that if she will marry him, joining her kingdom to his, he will kill Erona. Artaxia entices him into delivering both himself and Erona up into her hands; Antiphilus is killed with Chinese tortures by 'Fowre valyant gentlemen' ; Erona is put in prison, to be burnt unless she can, within two years' time, get Pyrocles and Musidorus to fight and beat the gentlemen. This Artaxia stipulates, hoping to be revenged on Pyrocles and Musidorus likewise. Erona does not cease to love Antiphilus, even after he is dead. Plangus now falls in love with her, and, though she will promise him no affection, undertakes to find Pyrocles and Musidorus for her. He just fails to overtake them in Egypt, and makes a fruitless search in Greece. All this, it is expressly stated, is the work of 'the vindicatif Cupid'.

The sixty-eight lines of the first draft have been elaborated to two hundred and ninety. There is only one place that looks like a verbal transfer: *Old Arcadia,* p. 66, l. 7: *'that yf by* that tyme *twoo yeare'; New Arcadia,* p. 336, ll. 3-4: *'that yf by* the day *two yeare* .....' ; and the following three phrases show,

perhaps, that Sidney had read over his old manuscript: *Old Arcadia*, p. 66, l. 9: 'they had t r a y t e r u s l y killed *her Brother* .....' ; *New Arcadia*, p. 336, ll. 6-7: 'of having b y t r e a s o n destroyed *her brother* .....' ; *O. A.*, p. 66, l. 10: '... *should bee* publiquely *burned* at a stake .....' ; *N. A.*, p. 336, ll. 7-8: '..... *should be* that same day *burned* to ashes .....' ; lastly *O. A.*, p. 66, l. 17: '..... a *Matche*, (wherein *shee* r e s t e d a s s u r e d) theyre .....' ; *N. A.*, p. 336, l. 19: '..... *she* h e l d h e r s e l f e s u r e of the *match*'.

As has been said, the story is, in the *New Arcadia*, divided into two ; but as each part forms a unit in itself, there is not the same objection to the procedure as in the split passages from the *Old Arcadia* that have been mentioned above (see page 88). On page 330 of the revised version the narrative is taken up again. As soon as Pyrocles and Musidorus have left him, Antiphilus displays his base nature to the full. He estranges his subjects by his licence, and is himself further corrupted by flatterers. Within half a year he pretends that Erona is barren, makes a law authorizing polygamy, and proposes marriage to Artaxia. At an assembly of princes of Asia he is cold-shouldered for the upstart he is, and goes away in a chafe. Erona debases herself, like another Griseldis, so far as to write to Artaxia that she is willing, 'for the publike good', to be a second wife.

A meeting is arranged; Antiphilus and Erona are ambushed by Artaxia, and taken prisoners. Antiphilus abjectly begs his life, Erona bears her affliction resignedly, 'as who had the joyes of her hart alreadie broken'.

Plangus, moved at first by pity, falls in love with her; she begs him to save Antiphilus. After many protestations of Antiphilus' unworthiness, he consents, and a plot is made. At the last moment, Antiphilus himself betrays the secret, in the hope of thus obtaining pardon. Plangus just escapes capture, and surrounds himself with his military friends.

Antiphilus is now given over to the women of the city, who torture him for introducing polygamy, and cast him from the top of a pyramid over Tiridates' tomb. Plangus' troops fight and beat Artaxia's; he takes a nephew of hers as hostage. A compromise is made : Erona is to be placed in the custody of a noble-

man, until Pyrocles and Musidorus come to combat two (in the *Old Arcadia* four!) knights of Artaxia's. Artaxia knows, or thinks she knows, that Pyrocles is dead; but Plangus is unaware of this. He visits Erona, who falls into 'deadlie traunces', and thanks and reproaches him at the same time. He snatches a kiss from her hand, and starts on a fruitless quest of the two Princes.

It is evident that the original draft stands to the revision as a first sketch to a finished composition. The former half of the story has been left nearly intact, but there, too, contours have been filled out. In the psychological treatment of the personages, Sidney has made remarkable progress. Some critics will, perhaps, speak of 'would-be psychology' again; and one may as well admit, once for all, that the psychology of the *New Arcadia* is not that of the twentieth-century novel. But a comparison of the two versions shows that there is a considerable advance in the right direction. In the *Old Arcadia* Sidney contents himself with telling a story. Characterisation and psychology are rudimentary; little effort is made at verisimilitude. The whole episode is conceived as due to superhuman agency. The *New Arcadia* reduces the latter as much as possible; Love, as a human passion, even if still spelled with a capital, all but replaces Cupid; Antiphilus' baseness is not taken for granted, but the workings of his mind are analysed; so is Erona's anguish. The two princes no longer merely perform feats of incredible valour; they carry out quite practicable acts of warfare. We are granted a sidelight on Antiphilus' reputation by the way he is 'cut' at the assembly of princes. All this goes to show — and herein lies the value of the comparative study of the two *Arcadias* — that the development of Sidney's art runs parallel with that of English prose fiction as a whole: away from the primitiveness of medieval romance, towards the subtler methods of the modern novel.

### *Omissions and Condensations.*

So far, we have been mainly concerned with amplifications of the original design. This part of our enquiry would, however, be incomplete if we forgot to note that Sidney also knew how to condense and omit. We have already marked how in the episode of the rebellion the irrelevant songs of Musidorus and

Philisides are cut out (see above, page 93). Another passage that has been considerably compressed and toned down occurs on pages 45—46 of the *Old Arcadia,* where we find a detailed account of the wound Cleophila (i.e. Pyrocles) received in 'her' struggle with the lion, and the solicitude of Basilius, Gynecia and Philoclea on 'her' account. In the *New Arcadia* the serious wound has become a mere scratch; and in accordance with this, the fifty lines of slightly ludicrous bustle, mixed with an apostrophe to the 'worthy Ladyes', and other extraneous stuff, have been reduced to seventeen. Mere padding had no place in Sidney's scheme of revision. A little further down, there is more pruning. The *Old Arcadia* takes twenty-two lines to say that Pamela and Dorus are missing; *that* the others had forgotten them, *why* they had forgotten them, and so forth. In the revised version, two lines are thought sufficient.

One of the most striking instances of compression is to be found on pages 21, l. 4 — 22, l. 36 and 87, l. 1 — 88, l. 8 of the *New Arcadia,* three pages in all, corresponding to five pages of the original (26, l. 12 — 31, l. 20). They contain a description of Dametas' clownish behaviour on first meeting the disguised Pyrocles near the lodges. Dametas, his wife Miso and his daughter Mopsa, form a curious group in both versions; we shall have to say something on these grotesque figures later on. At any rate, the *New Arcadia* is more restrained and dignified in this scene than the *Old.* First, the detailed description of Dametas' outward appearance *(O. A.,* p. 26, l. 34 — p. 27, l. 2) is cut out, and reduced to three lines: 'This loutish clowne is such, that you never saw so ill favourd a visar; his behaviour such, that he is beyond the degree of ridiculous; and for his apparel, even as I would wish him'. — Secondly, Dametas' squabble with his wife and daughter (*O. A.,* p. 29, l. 28 — p. 30, l. 4), and his ludicrous clamour to Basilius (p. 30, l. 4 — p. 31, l. 13) are omitted. In the third place, note the following cancels: *a.* Dametas asleep with his mouth agape (p. 26, ll. 15-18); *b.* 'Venus wastecoate', which Dametas swears by (p. 26, l. 27); *c. Mr* Dametas *(Old A.,* p. 28, l. 35, cf. *New A.,* p. 87, l. 20); 'O Sunne ..... howe long shall this Cloude live to darcken thee .....' etc. (*Old A.,* p. 29, ll. 7-9) *e.* 'Mayde Maryan', (p. 29,

l. 11); *f.* 'a right Pyrocles Countenaunce in a Cleophila face (p. 29, ll. 13-14); *g.* 'vyle Creature', etc. (p. 29, ll. 14-16). In the *New Arcadia*, Pyrocles-Zelmane does not deign to speak to Dametas at all; *h.* 'his blood come oute of the eldest shepeardes howse in that Contry' (p. 29, ll. 25-26).

We have now come to the end of the first part of the task proposed for this chapter: the comparison between the text of the *Old Arcadia* and the corresponding portions of the *New*. Needless to say, the parallels given are representative without being exhaustive. The conclusions arrived at may be tested by comparing other passages and episodes from the *New Arcadia* based on the original, such as the story of Plangus and Andromana (pp. 242, l. 26 — 250, l. 27, and 278—288); cf. *Old Arcadia*, p. 146, l. 37 — p. 147, l. 8, and p. 148, l. 16 — p. 150, l. 33). Further comparison, however, would hardly reveal any new features, and will, therefore, be dispensed with [1]). Instead,

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[1]) One more detail may be noted for the light it throws on the immaturity of the *Old Arcadia*. When travelling through Egypt, Pyrocles and Musidorus rescue a man about to be killed by four villains. He tells them he is Thermuthis, servant to Amasis, the king of Egypt's son. The king having re-married, the stepmother had solicited Amasis, who had refused her. She had thereupon dressed up Thermuthis in his master's apparel and made him enter the king's room to kill the latter. The king awaking just in time, having been roused by his wife, Thermuthis had run away. The queen had sent four men after Thermuthis with instructions to kill him. Query: how can Thermuthis give his rescuers details of the queen's designs, some of which he could not possibly have known? The answer is: 'And thus muche one of them appoynted to kill hym (who was the Man the Queene of *Egipt* moste trusted) had reveyled unto hym, thincking his speedy deathe shoulde keepe yt from beeyng opened' (p. 150, ll. 1-4). This would-be murderer taking the victim into his confidence is somewhat of a strain on our sense of probability. The next lines, however, are even clumsier, from the point of view of narrative technique. 'And sayde *Thermuthis* by this tyme, I feare the kinge hathe done some hurt to my Deare Master, whome thus myserably I have Ruyned: And in deede, so the Kinge ment to have done, and presently meant to have killed hym', etc. (*ib.*, ll. 4-7). Note the abrupt change of viewpoint from Thermuthis' subjective relation to the objective account of what actually happened! In the *New Arcadia*, there is no such faulty technique. The lines last quoted have been cancelled; and in the corresponding case of a man being sent to poison Plangus, the wretch, when caught before the act, is made to confess upon the rack. (*N. A.*, p. 250, ll. 6-12.)

we will now examine such new material as is not based on the text of the original version, first in Books I and II, and subsequently in the unfinished Book III, which is entirely new.

### *New Material in the Revised Version.*

The two opening chapters of the *New Arcadia* will chiefly have to be discussed under the headings of style, 'thought', and sources. They serve to land Musidorus on the Grecian coast, and to take him to the house of Kalander; chapter three is already based on the original version, as is also the next. Chapter five contains the novella of Argalus and Parthenia, told by Kalander's steward. The wealthy but repugnant old suitor, the harsh parent, the young and handsome rival, the beautiful bride falling a victim to spiteful wickedness, are of course among the stock figures of romance; but the story holds the attention, and Parthenia's self-denial from pure love of Argalus is in the best vein of pathos. A somewhat superfluous attempt to account for the steward's knowledge of certain details of his story shows the author grappling with the problem of verisimilitude, which he was to solve with such marked success in some later portions of the new version. In the present case the result is the introduction of an eavesdropper: 'as I heard by one that overheard them'. In Kalander's explanation of how he came by the knowledge of Philanax's letter to Basilius (which had been a speech in the direct narrative of the original) the effect is even more infelicitous. In order to get the necessary information through to Musidorus, and so to the reader, Sidney has to make Kalander's son Clitophon commit the indiscretion of taking a copy of the letter, which Basilius had forgotten to lock away. Kalander's comment on his son's deed is somewhat amazing for a man of his character: 'In trueth I blamed *Clitophon* for the curiositie, which made him break his duetie in such a kind, whereby kings secrets are subject to be revealed: but since it was done, I was content to take so much profite, as to know it'. Here, evidently, character has been sacrificed to narrative technique. Even in the *New Arcadia*, Sidney is not everywhere on sure ground.

Chapter 6 shows Pyrocles as the leader of the rebellious Helots, who have taken Kalander's son Clitophon prisoner. Kalander and Musidorus lead a force against them. Eventually Pyrocles and Musidorus meet in single combat, and there is a sudden recognition. The next chapter contains the end of this expedition, and the conclusion of the story of Argalus and Parthenia, which figures in the actual course of events, instead of being told by the steward, as the former half of it had been.

Thus in seven chapters almost as many different sets of actions are dealt with. Of course this way of telling a story is far from being 'straightforward', even though the various episodes are eventually linked up. But if the revised version suffers from a lack of unity, this drawback is compensated to a great extent by its continual variety. When the first unfamiliarity has worn off, it is hard to find the *New Arcadia* a dull book. Its diversity of subject and tone was no doubt one of the causes of its success with contemporary and later readers. Few tastes but could find in these pages something to their liking. From neo-platonic discourse to a shipwreck; hence to a country scene; a picture-gallery; character sketches of royal personages; a piece of sage counselling; a love-story; a tale of policy and warfare; a fairy-tale ending to the love-story; a stag-hunt, and so forth — and all this as an hors d'œuvre leading up to the central action! The 1590 *Arcadia* has been compared to a tortuous stream lazily meandering through the marshy plains of digression [1]). It may seem so to a twentieth-century critic. To contemporary readers it rather came as a rich repast, stimulating the appetite with many a dainty savoury. The excellent digestions of our forefathers are notorious; and they were in no hurry to curtail their banquets.

Chapters 10 and 11 introduce the chivalric element, in the wake of *Amadis of Gaul*. Musidorus, in quest of Pyrocles, turns knight-errant. The story of Queen Helen of Corinth, it is interesting to note, became the source of a French play before the end of 1605, though the romance as such was not translated into French until 1624 [2]). We do not, however, have chivalry

[1]) Danchin, l. c.

[2]) See Bibliography, p. 212

in real earnest till we come to chapters 15-17. These are *Amadis* all over, with *Ivanhoe* in the perspective. The tournaments, occasioned by a young knight 'taking love uppon him like a fashion', the symbolic armour, the *imprese*, 'the painted muster of an eleven conquered beauties'; Polycetes, 'much spoken of for the honourable love he had long borne to *Gynecia;* which *Basilius* himselfe was content, not onely to suffer, but to be delighted with; he carried it in so honorable and open plainnes setting to his love no other marke, then to do her faithfull service' — it is all so strangely at variance with current notions of the so-called Renaissance that it rather suggests the waning of the middle ages than the *renascentes bonas literas*. Here, as in many places, the *Arcadia* mirrors contemporary England. These tournaments actually occurred in the tilt-yard at Whitehall; nobles and gentlemen took a keen interest in the art of the *impresa;* and the courtiers of Elizabeth did 'take love upon them like a fashion'. Yet the author of *Arcadia* was also the man who wrote *The Defence of Poesie*, and who appealed to classical precedent. It is likely that he took both equally seriously — chivalry and the classics? It seems permissible to doubt it. There is an unmistakable undertone of irony running through these chapters, which is foreign to *Amadis*. When Phalantus is beaten, his 'disgrace was ingrieved in lieu of comforte' by his lady Artesia; but he is only too glad to be rid of his vow: 'for I thinke the losse of such a Mistresse will proove a great gaine: and so concluded; to the sporte of *Basilius*, to see young folkes love, that came in maskt with so great pompe, goe out with so little constancie. But *Phalantus* first professing great service to *Basilius* for his curteous intermitting his solitary course for his sake, would yet conduct *Artesia* to the castle of *Cecropia*, whether she desired to goe: vowing in himselfe, that neither hart, nor mouth-love, should ever any more intangle him. And with that resolution he left the company'. It is all no more than an elegant pastime, and when it is over, the lady is conducted back to her seat, as after a dance.

If in the chivalric episodes the *New Arcadia* may seem to reach out to Scott, another notable contribution to the heritage

of English fiction consists in a series of open-air scenes with which the revised form is interspersed. We have already noted Kalander's stag-hunt, which is not based on anything in the original. On page 96 there is a description of how Basilius' family, accompanied by Zelmane, would go angling to a little river near at hand. In Book II, the first important addition relates how the whole party go to see a falcon-hunt: '..... the sporte which for that daie *Basilius* would principallie shewe to *Zelmane*, was the mountie at a Hearne, which getting up on his wagling winges with paine, till he was come to some height ..... was now growen to diminish the sight of himself .....: whẽ a Jerfaulcon was cast of after her, who streight spying where the pray was, fixing her eie with desire, & guiding her wing by her eie, used no more strẽgth then industry. For as a good builder to a hie tower will not make his stayre upright, but winding almost the ful cõpasse about, that the steepnes be the more unsensible: so she, seing the towring of her pursued chase, went circkling, & cõpassing about, rising so with the lesse sence of rising; & yet finding that way scantly serve the greedines of her hast, as an ambitious body wil go far out of the direct way, to win to a point of height which he desires; so would she (as it were) turne taile to the Heron, & flie quite out another way, but all was to returne in a higher pitche; which once gotten, she would either beate with cruell assaults the Heron, who now was driven to the best defence of force, since flight would not serve; or els clasping with him, come downe together, to be parted by the overpartiall beholders'. (pages 167—168.)

Another open-air scene is to be found on pages 215—225, though it suggests some eighteenth-century painting by Boucher or Fragonard rather than the later English novel. The two sisters bathe in the river Ladon, Zelmane taking advantage of her Amazon disguise, not only to watch them at it, but to 'runne, to touch, embrace, and kisse' Philoclea. The scene is further enlivened by 'a water spaniell, who came downe the river, shewing that he hunted for a duck, & with a snuffling grace, disdaining that his smelling force coulde not as well prevaile thorow the water, as thorow the aire; & therefore wayting with

his eye, to see whether he could espie the duckes getting up againe: but then a little below them failing of his purpose, he got out of the river, & shaking off the water ..... inweeded himselfe so, as the Ladies lost the further marking his sportfulnesse'. (pp. 216—217.) Sidney must have been fond of dogs. On page 167 he writes: '..... upon the side of the forrest they had both greyhounds, spaniels, and hounds: whereof the first might seeme the Lords, the second the Gentlemen, and the last the Yeomen of dogges'.

Students of the *Arcadia* who imagine Sidney at work upon the revision, embroidering the romance with episodes of fading chivalry, and loading it with his philosophy, should remember these scenes of sporting and outdoor life, which are peculiar to the *new* version. Not the *Old Arcadia,* begun at Wilton, is full of the English countryside, and of the sports of gentleman and peasant; it is in the revised form that they occur. We may here recall the citizens of Enispus, celebrating their prince's birthday 'in the goodly greene two mile hence' (see above, page 95); and the bear-baiting scene from the same episode. Boys' sports, too, he has watched; Pyrocles, shipwrecked, seeing his enemy sitting on the end of a mast, 'bestriding the mast, I gat by little and little towards him, after such a manner as boies are wont (if ever you saw that sport) when they ride the wild mare'. (pages 306—307.) It is in the *New Arcadia* that Philoclea is compared to 'a yong faune, who cõming in the wind of the hunters, doth not know whether it be a thing or no to be eschewed' (page 169.). When Pyrocles has revealed his identity to her, she is 'fearefull of shee knewe not what'; '(as hee whiche newly fyndes muche treasure ys moste subject to Doubtes)', the *Old Arcadia* observes (page 115, ll. 20-21); the revision has: '(as he that newly findes huge treasures, doubtes whether he sleepe or no; or *like a fearfull Deere, which then lookes most about, when he comes to the best feede*' (page 260, ll. 8-10.). It is an English breeze that blows through the glades of Arcadia.

Chapters 8-10 and 18-24 of the second book consist of entirely new material, except in so far as Andromana is potentially present in the original version. (cf. p. 104.) Most of it is knight-

errantry; some of it has been taken from *Amadis*. One piece of story follows another; variety is essential to the *New Arcadia*, and to complain of its complexity seems futile. The diverse episodes are precariously held together by the figures of the two heroes, Pyrocles and Musidorus. Their new exploits undoubtedly add to their renown, but of advance in characterisation these chapters contain little or nothing. The two friends conform to the ideal type of romance-hero : 'of royal descent, startlingly young, supremely handsome, preternaturally valiant, supernally generous, and abundantly loquacious' [1]). With regard to the later heroic romance, Tieje [2]) has observed: 'In general, heroes are eighteen' ; and the same remark holds good for the *Arcadia*. In the original, the two princes enter upon their knightly careers at the ages of seventeen and eighteen respectively, Musidorus being the elder. In the revision, Pyrocles is sixteen and Musidorus 'elder by three or foure years' when they go a-roving. A greater interval was probably necessary to allow for the additional war of the king of Phrygia (p. 188) on Musidorus' father, which did not begin till after, and because of, Musidorus' birth. When this war is over, his uncle Euarchus marries, and Pyrocles is born in another year's time apparently. — When Musidorus stays with Kalander, the latter greatly admires his guest's excellent qualities, 'and all in a man whose age could not be above one & twenty yeares'. (p. 16.) So that Pyrocles has certainly become the greater wonder of the two; and of course, his more youthful age, as compared with the *Old Arcadia*, makes it all the easier for him to don the guise of an Amazon. There is a curious description of him after his return from the leadership of the Helots, just before his love-adventure (page 48): 'For being now well veiwed to have no haire of his face, to witnes him a man, who had done acts beyond the degree of a man, and to looke with a certaine almost bashefull kinde of modestie, as if hee feared the eyes of men, who was unmooved with sight of the most horrible countenaunces of death; and as if nature had mistaken her woorke to have a *Marses* heart in a *Cupides* bodye:

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[1]) Tieje, *The Theory of Characterization in Prose Fiction prior to 1740* (1916), p. 5.

[2]) *Op. cit.*, note 60.

All that beheld him (and al that might behold him, did behold him) made their eyes quicke messengers to their minds, that there they had seene the uttermost that in mankind might be seene'. There is something more in this passage than mere verbal antithesis; it raises a point which will be discussed in the chapter on Sidney's ' thought '.

From the point of view of narrative skill, there are both good and bad things to be noted in these new chapters. Among the former are Dorus' lapse from the third to the first person as he tells Pamela of the exploits of the two princes. 'In truth, never mã betweene joy before knowledge what to be glad of, and feare after cõsidering his case, had such a confusion of thoughts, as I had, when I saw *Pyrocles,* so neare me. But with that *Dorus* blushed, and *Pamela* smiled: and *Dorus* the more blushed at her smiling, and she the more smiled at his blushing; because he had (with the remembraunce of that plight he was in) forgotten in speaking of him selfe to use the third person '. The lapse is perfectly natural; a touch of humour enlivens the story, and Pamela's smile shows that, even while august and reserved, she is human.

A less happy invention is the story of Leucippus and Nelsus, who save the lives of Pyrocles and Musidorus at the expense of their own. (page 194.) They suddenly appear from nowhere, floating on 'a ribbe of the shippe' which, after carrying the two princes, had been wrecked in a tempest. We are told that they had been ransomed from captivity by Pyrocles and Musidorus, who had sold 'all' their jewels, and mortgaged estates for them; in return for which they now let go the board that cannot carry the four of them, and so save the princes' lives. There seems no reason whatever to introduce these two figures; the princes might have been saved without them. Eight pages further on, they turn out to be alive after all: 'drowned indeed they were not, but gat with painefull swimming upon a rocke '. Apparently it is a case of virtue rewarded; but reading on we find that they have been preserved only to be beheaded by the king of Pontus, so as to give the two princes a just cause to make war on that tyrant. It is a rather clumsy contrivance.

Fortunately such failures are outnumbered by samples of good story-telling. The episode of the blinded king of Paphlagonia, led by his faithful son and persecuted by the bastard, has been for ever rescued from oblivion by Shakespeare, who adopted it for the underplot of *King Lear*. Wolff [1]), while tracing the skeleton of the story back to Heliodorus, points out how Sidney has greatly added to its point and pathos, and given it a tone foreign to its source. The bastard son, Plexirtus, is one of the numerous 'characters' in the *Arcadia*, taking the word in the sense it carried in contemporary literature. He is false and crafty, knowing how to dissemble his faults so as to obtain the help of good men, and abjectly humble when defeated, in order to obtain mercy. Clinias, Cecropia's agent, is another such 'character'; so is Antiphilus (see above, page 97 ff.).

In the story of Zelmane, who followed Pyrocles disguised as a page, Sidney shows that he knows how to handle the pathetic. The motif is, of course, common to contemporary literature, but the elaboration is Sidney's own. There is a comparative table in Hill, *Sidney's* Arcadia *and the Elizabethan Drama* [2]), attempting to show the affinity of this episode to similar ones in Cinthio, Bandello and Montemayor. The net result is that it has nothing in common with them beyond the motif of the woman-page itself. Sidney's solution of making the page die of grief is peculiar to him, though in Montemayor there is a sweetheart who falls in love with the page, and subsequently dies of grief. The tone of Sidney's conclusion reminds one of the sensibility of some popular ballads. Before her death, Zelmane reveals her identity to the two princes; she asks Pyrocles: 'thinke of me after my death with kindnes, though ye cannot with love. And whensoever ye shall make any other Ladie happie with your placed affectiō, if you tell her my folly, I pray you speake of it, not with scorne, but with pitie' (p. 298). 'And then kissing me, & often desiring me not to condemne her of lightnesse, in mine armes she delivered her pure soule to the purest place' (page 299).

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[1]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 312—313.

[2]) See Bibliography, p. 207.

Of sensibility, also apart from the pathetic, the *Arcadia* holds an abundant measure. As Dobell says [1]), 'it is a curious circumstance that Sidney's heroes, though they show no want of manly courage in action, are quite as emotional as his women, and are just as ready as are his heroines to burst into tears, and to display other tokens of the kind of sensibility which we now regard as peculiarly feminine'. In places, the romance exhibits a luxury of sentiment such as one would hardly expect in a tale largely occupied with warfare and deeds of valour. We may conveniently effect the transition to Book III by analysing the contents of its twenty-third chapter. Pyrocles, imprisoned in the castle of Cecropia, thinks he has seen Philoclea executed, and is in 'a wilde furie of desperate agonie'. He laments her 'all that day and night'. Towards daybreak he hears 'one stirre in his chamber, by the motion of garmẽts'; it appears to be a gentlewoman, who tries to speak comfort to him. She employs the usual Stoic arguments, familiar to us in the mouth of Brutus in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* [2]): 'what then do you crie out for? not for her, who must have died one time or other; but for some fewe yeares: so as it is time, & this world that seeme so lovely things, and not *Philoclea* unto you'. Of course he refuses to be comforted, and is even irritated by her words to such an extent 'that leaping out of his bed, he ran to have striken her: but comming neere her (the morning then winning the field of darkenesse) he saw, or he thought he sawe, indeede, the very face of *Philoclea;* the same sweetenesse, the same grace, the same beautie: with which carried into a divine astonishment, he fell downe at her feete'. He at first takes her for a visitant from heaven who has adopted Philoclea's form; when the gentlewoman assures him she *is* Philoclea, he supposes her to be Philoclea's spirit that has left its blissful abode to come to him. At last he is convinced by her protestations, and she explains to him that hers had been a sham execution, got up to frighten her sister. By order of Amphialus, Cecropia's son, she had been allowed some liberty, and had profited by it to steal into Pyrocles'

[1]) *Loc. cit.*, p. 88.

[2]) 'That we shall dye we know, 'tis but the time
And drawing dayes out, that men stand upon'. *J. C.* III, 1, 99-100.

room and listen to his laments for herself! '(O Lord) what a joy it was unto me, to heare you solemnise the funerals of the poore *Philoclea?* That I my selfe might live to heare my death bewailed? and by whom? by my deere *Pyrocles.* ..... Alas how I pittied to heare thy pittie of me; and yet a great while I could not finde in my hart to interrupt thee, but often had even pleasure to weepe with thee: and so kindly came forth thy lamentations, that they inforced me to lament to, as if indeed I had beene a looker on, to see poore *Philoclea* dye'.

It is a curious scene from many a point of view. There is irony in the situation of the lover bewailing his mistress, unaware that she is being near him all the time. There is the surprise effect of suddenly revealed identity after disguise, so beloved of later romance (Scott!). Even humour is there, the humour of a smile and a tear. 'And with that she pretily smiled, which, mingled with her teares, one could not tell whether it were a mourning pleasure, or a delightful sorrow'. The whole gamut of sensibility is contained in the opening lines of the next chapter: 'But who would lively describe the manner of these speeches, should paint out the lightsome coulours of affection, shaded with the deepest shadowes of sorrow, finding them betweene hope and feare, a kind of sweetenes in teares'.

The *Arcadia,* with its popularity down the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, must have been a potent influence in nourishing the instinct for romance and sentiment, driven underground for a time by neo-classicism. Thus it appears as one of the rivulets that were to contribute to the rising stream of romanticism in the eighteenth century [1]).

If this seems a far-reaching conclusion, there is more in the third book than just this chapter to base it on. Tender and pathetic, without going to such extremes of sensibility, is the interview between Amphialus and Philoclea in chap. 3. 'But *Amphialus* was like the poore woman, who loving a tame Doe she had, above all earthly things, having long played withall, and made it feede at her hand and lappe, is constrained at length

[1]) Compare L. Cazamian, *L'Évolution Psychologique et la Littérature en Angleterre.* Chap. VI: La préparation morale du romantisme.

by famine (all her flocke being spent, and she fallen into extreeme povertie) to kill the Deare, to sustaine her life. Manie a pitifull looke doth she cast upon it, and many a time doth she draw backe her hand before she can give the stroke'. Then there are the domestic love and pathetic deaths of Argalus and Parthenia (chapters 12 and 16), which have roused the enthusiasm of the French critic Danchin, though the style has irritated his Italian colleague Mario Praz. As often in the *Arcadia*, in the passages containing Sidney's best efforts, the pseudo-classical veil is very transparent, nay, at the sad ending of the story it is entirely dropped: having been killed in an attempt to avenge her husband, Parthenia's body is conveyed 'to a c h u r c h a mile from the campe, where the valiant *Argalus* lay intombed; recommending to that sepulchre, the blessed reliques of faithfull and vertuous Love: giving order for the making of marble images, to represent them, & each way enriching the tombe'. This knight and his lady, whose effigies deck their tomb, erected in a church, are English, not antique.

For the rest, this book, like its two predecessors, is full of infinite variety. It is, first and foremost, a tale of warfare; Cecropia having kidnapped Pamela, Philoclea and the disguised Pyrocles, and confined them in her castle, Basilius collects forces and besieges her. Her son Amphialus, whose love of Philoclea remains unanswered, and for whose sake Cecropia has taken this step, is in command of the garrison of the castle. In the description of his preparations for defence, we see again Sidney's predilection for military and political affairs. In Phalantus, a temporary sojourner in Basilius' camp, we recognize the author on his travels through Europe: 'when he had spent some time in considering the *Arcadian* manner in marching, encamping, and fighting, and had learned in what points of governement, and obedience their discipline differed from others, and had satisfied his minde in the knowledge, both for the cutting off the enemies helpes, and furnishing ones selfe, which *Basilius* orders coulde deliver unto him .....' (page 412). The battle scenes are often quite good. By the side of literary influence, we may assume inspiration by scenes of contemporary warfare. As

to the former, Brie [1]) has pointed to Homer; but one is sometimes rather reminded of Chaucer, as in the description of Agenor (pages 386—387): 'full of jollitie in conversation, and lately growne a Lover'. This too, is hardly Homeric: '..... set spurs to his horse, & with youthfull bravery casting his staffe about his head, put it then in his rest, as carefull of comely carying it, as if the marke had ben but a ring, & the lookers on Ladies'.

Chapter 11 contains a model description, complete at all points, of a single combat, with all the paraphernalia of chivalry. Phalantus the challenger, is actuated by no motive of hatred, but only by a desire 'to keepe his valure in knowledge, by some private acte, since the publique policie restrayned him; the rather, because his olde mistresse *Artesia* might see, whome she had so lightly forsaken.' He sends a herald to Amphialus, 'furnished with apparell of his office'; when the herald presents his letters, he desires '*Amphialus* that whatsoever they conteyned, he woulde consider that he was onely the bearer, but not the inditer.' The courteous challenge and the equally courteous reply are given in full. Amphialus 'having writte and sealed his letter, he delivered it to the Heraulde, and withall tooke a faire chaine from off his owne necke, and gave it him'. The armour and the horse and trappings of the two combatants are described in full; so is the fight, which ends in Phalantus' honourable defeat, and an assurance of friendship at parting.

As elsewhere in the *Arcadia,* action and eloquence alternate. There are disputes on high matters of love, philosophy and religion between Cecropia and Amphialus, and between Pamela, Philoclea and their uncourteous hostess. There is Pamela's famous prayer, showing once more how thin is the antique disguise. When Cecropia threatens to kill the three prisoners unless Basilius raises the siege, the pro and con are set out in full-dress arguments by two of the prince's counsellors. The contents of some of these speeches will be dealt with in another chapter.

Lastly, there are the principal characters, Cecropia and her son Amphialus. The former is one of Sidney's strong-minded women;

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[1]) *Sidneys Arcadia,* p. 194.

she invites comparison with Gynecia. The unhappy Queen of Arcadia, however, falls a victim to love, and has her character redeemed at the end, in popular estimation at least; Cecropia is a 'Machiavellian' type in the contemporary hostile sense of the word; her master passion is ambition, and she perishes in her unrighteousness. A king's daughter herself, she had married the brother of Basilius while the latter was a bachelor still; his marrying Gynecia had dashed her expectations of a queenly crown. Since then, she had been plotting to overthrow Basilius; the attack of the wild beasts and the peasant's revolt were of her contriving. Finally, she kidnaps the king's daughters, and having learned from Amphialus of his love for Philoclea leaves no way untried to persuade or force the latter into marrying her son; and, Philoclea refusing, she applies the same pressure to Pamela.

Cecropia's one redeeming feature is the love she bears her son Amphialus, whose gentlemanly character shows not the least family likeness to his mother's. If Sidney is to be thought capable of self-idealization, Amphialus may well have borrowed some of his traits. He is a capable organizer and a splendid fighter, with a streak of melancholy in his composition. He finds himself in the equivocal rôle of being at once Philoclea's jailer and her lover. Smarting under her gentle but firm refusal, fate makes him the slayer of another woman, Parthenia. No wonder he succumbs to despair. Yet somehow Amphialus just fails of being a truly tragic character. Perhaps it is the artificiality of the whole situation that makes us hesitate to place him in the class of tragic heroes.

## *Conclusion.*

Writers of monographs, from sheer preoccupation with their subject, often tend to exaggerate its importance. They frequently discover excellences where the unbiassed reader can see nothing but mediocrity. By a deft manipulation of details they sometimes appear to open up perspectives which to the critical eye reveal themselves as so many optical illusions.

Remembering this, we shall do well to inquire if, while sedu-

lously adducing evidence in favour of the *New Arcadia*, we have not wilfully withheld damaging material, or unduly stressed any demerits of the original. Can we with a clear conscience deny Dobell's claim that 'it is to be regretted ..... that Sir Philip did not leave his work in its original state, since in that form it is much better as a work of art, and very much easier to read than it is in the revised version?'

To begin with, let us be fair to the *Old Arcadia*, and admit, without prevarication, that it does present a simpler, more coherent story, and that it fully deserves to be appreciated on its own merits, apart from any comparison with the later form. Viewed as a whole, its effect is more satisfying than that of the unfinished and complex fabric of the *New Arcadia*.

However, to view an achievement as a whole, one must necessarily contemplate it from a distance. The revised version gains enormously on closer inspection. Critics like Dobell have been exasperated by their failure to bring into focus the romance as such, a comparatively easy thing to do with the original. Their lenses revealing a blurred mass only, they have omitted to concentrate on details. And in the case of the *New Arcadia*, the parts are more important than the whole.

The student of Sidney's life and the historian of English literature have every reason to be grateful that Sir Philip did not leave his work in its original state. The revision is a human as well as a literary document of great value. As a record of the mental growth of the writer it will be considered in another chapter. His development as an author has been studied in the present one; and we trust we have enabled the reader to check for himself our results.

Here a critic might object that we have given a flattered picture of the revised version by deliberately putting off any consideration of its style. To meet this objection, we are willing, for the present, to take the darkest view of the matter that has yet been expressed: 'Almost each sentence of the first draft has been subjected to a process of stucco decoration, until the once clear outline has disappeared behind the fashionable finery of a tortuous phraseology' [1]). As we shall hope to show, this

[1]) Praz, *l. c.* p. 511.

criticism contains a good deal of overstatement; but we will here assume that it is just. Even then we maintain that it is perfectly possible for the analytical student to discern the developed structure of the *New Arcadia* beneath the stucco coating.

Admitting, then, that the complexity of the revised version is not in itself a merit — though it does make for variety — and that its style is chiefly interesting as a literary fashion, we are left which a concrete and permanent contribution to the development of English fiction, in respect, mainly, of characterisation, verisimilitude and narrative technique. Inasmuch as any advance in craftsmanship is important not only for the growth of the individual artist, but for the progress of the literary species, English literature has gained by the revision. Its merits may be relative, but they are none the less real, as they are in line with the trend of evolution.

We agree with Dobell that the *Arcadia* is not a masterpiece in either of its forms; and we believe that its importance is now largely historical. Any attempt to vindicate the original or the revised version before the modern novel reader seems bound to fail. But from the historical point of view, we hold that the revision spells progress. If the *New Arcadia* is not a masterpiece, it contains more of what goes to the making of one than is to be found in its predecessor.

# CHAPTER THREE.

## SIDNEY'S PROGRESS AS A THINKER [1]).

THE ARCADIA AS AN 'ALLEGORY' — INDIVIDUALITY AND COMMONPLACE — LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP — POLITICAL IDEAS — PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION — CONCLUSION.

### *The Arcadia as an 'Allegory'.*

Not the least interesting part of the varied contents of the *Arcadia* consists of a great number of reflections on politics, morality and philosophy, scattered throughout the work, sometimes in the form of stray remarks, but frequently elaborated into lengthy disquisitions. The conclusions to be drawn from them regarding Sidney's view of life may be supplemented by the ideas underlying the conduct of some of his principal characters, such as Pyrocles, Musidorus and Euarchus, and, inversely, by the theories and motives ascribed to such a personification of evil as Cecropia.

Of the new material embodied in the second *Arcadia* these reflections constitute a considerable proportion. Not content with indulging his fancy, Sidney gave free play to his thoughts as well. The *Arcadia* is at once a romance and a treatise [2]); and this latter aspect endeared it to contemporary readers no less than the former. Harvey recommended the *Arcadia* 'for three thinges especially ..... for amorous Courting, (he was young in yeeres;) for sage counselling, (he was ripe in iudgement;) and for valorous fighting, (his soueraine profession was Armes:) and delightfull pastime by way of Pastorall exercises, may passe for the fourth' [3]). Harvey, who enjoys a reputation for pedantry,

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[1]) For the sense in which the word 'thinker' is used here, the reader is referred to page 142.

[2]) Compare the title of the Phillips Ms. (see page 8).

[3]) *Pierces Supererogation*, ed. Grosart, vol. II, p. 100.

here at least shows a catholic taste; he appreciates the amorous courting as well as the sage counselling. With some other of Sidney's critics, both contemporary and modern, admiration of the *Arcadia* rests on a narrower basis. Foremost among them is Sidney's intimate friend Fulke Greville. A writer of pseudo-classical tragedies, whose chief object was the exposition of his own political philosophy [1]), he saw the *Arcadia* as a kind of political allegory from first to last. In a treatise written some twenty-five years after Sidney's death, and commonly known as *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* [2]), he discussed the romance without the slightest reference either to the amorous courting or to the pastoral exercises. According to Greville, Sidney's aim in the *Arcadia* was 'first on the Monarch's part, lively to represent the growth, state, and declination of Princes, change of Government, and lawes: vicissitudes of sedition. faction, succession, confederacies, plantations, with all other errors, or alterations in publique affaires. Then again in the subjects case; the state of favor, disfavor, prosperitie, adversity, emulation, quarrell, undertaking, retiring, hospitality, travail, and all other moodes of private fortunes, or misfortunes'. And he points out the political lessons to be drawn from Basilius' retirement, and from Euarchus' action in Arcadia.

All this is in the approved fashion of sixteenth and seventeenth century criticism, which valued literary works chiefly for their didactic aspects. The most interesting point about Greville's remarks is that he expressly states the inculcation of such lessons to have been Sidney's prime motive in writing the *Arcadia*. This assertion is somewhat surprising, in view of the composite texture of the romance, which is by no means woven of one single thread, and it is, moreover, in flat contradiction to Sidney's dedicatory letter to his sister, prefixed to the printed editions of the second *Arcadia*. In it, Sidney refers to his book as 'this idle worke of mine'; and the conclusion of the letter is emphatic in urging Mary to look 'for no better stuffe, then, as in an Haberdashers shoppe, glasses, or feathers'.

[1]) Cf. Kastner and Charlton, *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander*. Vol. I, Introduction, p. CLXXXII.

[2]) Modern edition in the Tudor and Stuart Library, Oxford, 1907.

It was, of course, usual among gentlemen at that time and long after, to speak disparagingly of their literary exercises; and we may look upon the letter as a piece of understatement. There *is* a good deal in the *Arcadia* besides glasses and feathers, although these are never crowded out by the 'moralities' to the extent suggested by Greville.

It would hardly be necessary to debate this question any further, were it not that in recent times Greville's treatise has become one of the mainstays of a theory best summed up in the title of the article in which it was first advanced: 'Sidney's *Arcadia* as an example of Elizabethan allegory' [1]). Of course, the *Arcadia* has been supposed to contain covert allusions to real personages; but this kind of allegory is not what Greenlaw, the writer of the article, means. His idea is that Sidney wrote the romance with the deliberate purpose of illustrating certain political and moral theories, and that from this point of view, the *Arcadia* belongs to the same class of literature with the *Faerie Queene*. He attempts to establish his thesis both by *a priori* arguments, and by the help of internal evidence. In the first place, it is stated that Sidney's contemporaries looked upon the *Arcadia* as a heroic poem. 'This conception ..... together with the theories set down by Sidney in his *Defense*, makes it reasonable to infer that the book was thought to conform to the ideas of the time as to the province of this 'kind'.' It is then explained what these ideas were. In Sidney's time, the works of Homer and Virgil, and even those of a modern poet like Ariosto, were read not merely for the sake of the story, but for the moral and philosophical meaning supposed to be contained in them. The deeper sense of the poem was believed to be implied in the action by way of allegory, and to reveal itself, not to the vulgar, but only to the learned reader and commentator. As Greville puts it, the 'moralities' of the *Arcadia* are there for the 'judicious reader', 'for sounder judgements to exercise their Spirits in'.

From the *Defence of Poesie* it appears that Sidney's own con-

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[1]) By Edwin Greenlaw. *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 1913, pp. 327-337.

ception of heroic poetry was in accordance with the current view [1]). He refers to Orlando and Aeneas as types of excellence represented by poets, and tests a poet by his power of 'faining notable images of vertues, vices, or what els, with that delightfull teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a Poet by' [2]).

From these premises Greenlaw concludes that Sidney wrote the *Arcadia* with allegorical intentions. This inference is clearly fallacious, and in the first two words of his article — 'By Sidney and his contemporaries, *Arcadia* was regarded as an heroic poem' — Greenlaw really begs the question. He does, indeed, make an attempt to supply the missing link in the argument, viz. the proof that Sidney himself intended the *Arcadia* as an illustration of the contemporary view of heroic poetry. 'We now need evidence', he says, 'that Sidney regarded his *Arcadia* seriously'. The evidence consists of the rejection of Sidney's statement in the dedicatory letter, on the ground indicated above; of the testimony of Fulke Greville; and of the fact that Sidney went out of his way to revise the work. After this, Greenlaw claims to have given 'reasons for thinking that the author regarded his work as a serious attempt to illustrate these theories'. This is persuasive rather than convincing; that Sidney may have regarded the *Arcadia* seriously does not necessarily mean that he regarded it as an attempt to illustrate the allegorical theory of epic poetry.

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[1]) Greenlaw's view of Sidney's agreement with contemporary theories of poetry requires some modification. D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (1922), p. 145 ff., shows that while the ideas on allegory of such men as Lodge and Harington were still largely mediaeval, Sidney rather stood for the classical view of rhetoric as applied to poetry by the critics of the Italian renaissance. According to Sidney, the purpose of poetry is to win men to virtue by pleasant instruction; it accomplishes this end primarily by *examples*. When S. speaks of allegories, he is only thinking of the *Fables* of Aesop. 'From the allegorical interpretation of poetry current in the middle ages and to a scarcely less degree among his English contemporaries Sidney remains conspicuously aloof'. Greenlaw does, indeed, distinguish between a mediaeval and a sixteenth-century view of allegory, but is mistaken in lumping Sidney together with his contemporaries.

[2]) Feuillerat, vol. III, p. 11.

That the *Arcadia* in many places clearly betrays Sidney's preoccupation with questions of politics and practical morality, no one can deny; but neither Greville nor Greenlaw succeed in making us believe that it was for the sake of these questions that the romance was primarily written, and that we have to look upon it as an 'allegory' [1]). In the second part of his paper, Greenlaw attempts to sketch the plan of the supposed allegory, by reducing the adventures and enterprises of Pyrocles and Musidorus to some kind of system; but though he undoubtedly makes a few good points, the argument as a whole remains unconvincing.

'There has been a tendency within recent years for investigators to interpret any piece of Elizabethan literature as a political or personal allegory. In view of this fact a scholar should look with a degree of scepticism at all allegorical interpretations of sixteenth century works and should be not over-eager in adopting them but rather ever mindful of the injunction, *festina lente*' [2]). These words might have headed a review of one of the most remarkable books ever written about Sidney, '*Sidneys Arcadia*, eine Studie zur englischen Renaissance', by Dr. Friedrich Brie, professor in the university of Freiburg i. B. In respect of learning and thoroughness it is a typical piece of German scholarship. Its great drawback is that it is written in a spirit of advocacy which is frequently irritating. One feels throughout the book that the author's thesis is a foregone conclusion. The reader is carried forward ruthlessly from hypothesis to hypothesis; possibilities become probabilities, and these again turn into facts before the bewildered student has had time to realize where the author is leading him. In the end the inevitable reaction sets in, and one has to own to a misgiving that this

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[1]) Bacon's remark: 'Nevertheless in many the like incounters, I doe rather think that the fable was first and the exposition devised than that the Morall was first and thereupon the fable framed' — (quoted by D. L. Clark, p. 155) — is probably true also in the case of the *Arcadia* and its interpreters.

[2]) Viola B. Hulbert, A new interpretation of Spenser's *Muiopotmos*. *Studies in Philology*, XXV, 2, April 1928, p. 128.

imposing fabric of thought may on closer inspection turn out to be a phantasmagoria.

Such a conclusion would, however, be unfair to the work, which, critically used, is a mine of information, and really indispensable to any one who wishes to study the trend of Sidney's mind. Unfortunately, its contents become utilizable only after a careful sifting of hypothesis and fact; and this the general student, who has not gone through every detail of evidence and argument for himself, will find it difficult to do, owing to the way in which the two are interlocked. The odds are that he will either succumb to the fascination of the author's learning and forensic talent, or reject his conclusions in the lump in the name of common sense.

In Chapter I we have mentioned Brie's theory concerning the date of the composition of the *Old Arcadia*, and seen that it appears influenced by his desire to prove Sidney's work anterior to that of Lyly and Spenser. Brie's third chapter, entitled 'Die Absichten des Dichters bei der Niederschrift', argues for an ulterior motive on Sidney's part, on lines similar to those laid down in Greenlaw's paper. Brie, indeed, goes into the whole question afresh, and cites Greenlaw (in footnotes) only to same [1]), Brie's conclusion will not stand the test of strict logic correct him or to differ from him. His premises being largely the any more than does Greenlaw's. Moreover, by way of supporting his argument, Brie takes a few postulates, on the date of Sidney's *Defence* and on the relation between Sidney and Spenser, in his stride, thus making the whole matter more instead of less problematical. The upshot is the assumption, which is henceforward regarded as an established fact, 'dass Sidney mit der Abfassung der Arcadia von vornherein grosse Ziele verband'.

These aims, according to Brie, were first of all political. Sidney's interest and personal share in contemporary European politics are well-known. We also know that Elizabeth did not approve of his ambitious schemes for the safeguarding of Protestantism against Rome and Spain, and frequently forced him

[1]) Brie's statements, like Greenlaw's, require correction by the light of Clark's later researches.

to inaction. Brie concludes that the *Arcadia* is the outcome of Sidney's disappointment with the policy of the Queen, and virtually equates Basilius with Elizabeth: both let 'die Zügel der Regierung am Boden schleifen'. This hypothesis is sufficiently improbable. To suppose that Sidney should have caricatured his sovereign [1]) in the frequently ludicrous, sometimes contemptible figure of Basilius seems hard to reconcile with what we know of his loyalty and high-mindedness. Brie fails to see that his theory disparages Sidney's dignity as an author which he is bent on vindicating. Equally unconvincing is his suggestion that Euarchus may stand for William of Orange; the argument in this case is typical of many others in the book. In 1577, when Sidney made Orange's acquaintance, the Prince's age was forty-five. 'Leider bin ich nicht imstande festzustellen, ob die Anspielung auf die fünfzig Jahre des Euarchus sich bereits in I [2]) findet; sollte sie erst in II [3]) (1581—1582) vorhanden sein, so würde das Alter genau auf Wilhelm von Oranien passen'. As if the exact number of years would matter, supposing that Sidney *had* been thinking of William of Orange!

Sidney's political purpose in the *Arcadia* once established, Brie goes on to trace the sources of his ideas. He finds these chiefly in Aristotle's *Politics*, and attempts to draw a number of parallels between the treatise and the romance. These are on the whole vague and arbitrary, and Brie appears chiefly to depend on their cumulative effect to make them seem less so. Aristotle deals with three forms of government, monarchy, aristocracy and republic, and with the degenerated types of tyranny, oligarchy and democracy. According to Brie, Sidney leaves democracy out of account and places the problems of monarchy in the foreground, above all the causes of revolutions in monarchies. 'Die Ursache, die Aristoteles als die häufigste hinstellt, dass nämlich

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[1]) In curious contradiction to this view is the remark on pp. 104—105 that in the description of Queen Helen 'das Muster einer Regentin und keusch liebenden Frau' Sidney cannot but have been thinking of his virgin Queen!

[2]) The *Old Arcadia*.

[3]) The *New Arcadia*.

der Tyrann oder König von seinem Volke verachtet wird, rückt bei Sidney in den Mittelpunkt der Betrachtung'.

So much for the general plan. As regards details, here are a few of Brie's parallels. Arcadia, Sidney says, is famous 'for the well tempered minds of the people'; Aristotle (IV, 15) writes that the citizens should be temperate ('mässig'). When we hear of the good education of the Arcadians, 'so erkennen wir in dem letzten Vermerk unschwer eine Wiederspiegelung der grossen Rolle, die bei Aristoteles (IV, 15, V 1 ff.) die staatliche Erziehung des Bürgers für das Gedeihen des Gemeinwesens spielt'. — 'In beabsichtigter oder auch nur zufälliger Übereinstimmung mit den Ausführungen des Aristoteles (Politik VIII, 11), dass es die Eigentümlichkeit der Tyrannen sei, nur die zu lieben, die Anlage haben ihnen zu schmeicheln' — Basilius entrusts his daughter Pamela to Dametas. That Basilius is nowhere depicted as a tyrant the learned author seems to have overlooked. — 'Den von Aristoteles beständig betonten Gedanken (vgl. IV, 15), dass der Friede das Ziel des Krieges ist, drückt Sidney mit den Worten aus, dass Euarchus und Dorilaus *begat of a just war, the best child, peace*'.

That Sidney knew Aristotle's *Politics* we learn from his correspondence with Languet [1]); that Aristotle's teaching had coloured his political ideas we may well believe. When, however, Brie indicates the *Politics* as a specific source of inspiration for the *Arcadia,* he leaves us somewhat sceptical. His parallels are too general to be convincing. It seems as if the plea for Aristotle's influence on Sidney's political thought had been brought in chiefly to lend a certain dignity to the treatment of the subject. At any rate, it is overemphasized; it should have been in the background of the picture, if anywhere, and by making it loom far too large, Brie has spoiled the perspective. The *Arcadia* is not all, or even chiefly, politics; and Brie knows it. The moment he thinks he has made good his thesis, he feels the qualms of misgiving. 'Alle diese Punkte zusammen bilden eine glänzende Rechtfertigung für Greville's Theorie von den politischen

[1]) 'Inter Aristotelis opera ego præcipuè politica ejus legenda puto'. Letter dated Febr. 4, 1574. (*Works*, III, p. 84.)

Absichten Sidneys in der Arcadia. Denn wäre es Sidneys ursprüngliche Absicht gewesen einen Liebesroman in der Art von Heliodor oder Achilles Tatius zu schreiben, so war dieser ganze politische Rahmen nicht nur überflüssig, sondern geradezu ein heterogenes und störendes Element, welches das Interesse des Lesers von der Liebeshandlung abziehen musste. Dagegen lässt sich sein Vorhandensein ohne Schwierigkeit erklären, wenn man annimmt, dass Sidney ursprünglich einen politischen Roman schreiben wollte und die Liebeshandlung zunächst nur als etwas Sekundäres auffasste, bis sich allmählich das Verhältnis verschob und die Liebeshandlung zusammen mit den Eklogen den Hauptinhalt des Romans ausmachte'. The logic of this passage is a little complicated. Why the political 'frame' should have been a heterogeneous and disturbing element if Sidney's primary object had been amorous, but not vice versa, one fails to see. Moreover, if 'all these points together' really constitute a 'brilliant justification' of Greville's theory, the afterthought introduced by 'Denn .....' ought to be superfluous. It is really a repetition of the view expressed by Brie in chapter III that the political element is more in evidence in the *Old Arcadia* than in the *New*. If this were true, one would be forced to the conclusion that Sidney put less instead of more of his serious thought into the revised version; and Brie would find himself in the company of those who maintain that the *New Arcadia* is inferior to the *Old* from the l i t e r a r y point of view. This deduction, however, would probably be abhorrent to Brie, who is bent throughout on emphasizing Sidney's capacities as a thinker; and he nowhere definitely formulates it. It is piquant to note that, according to Greenlaw, the revised version is more 'allegorical' than the original; according to Brie it is less so, politically at any rate!

The weakness of Brie's theory betrays itself by the way he argues the same point over and over again. At the end of the present chapter he admits that to the average reader the love-story in the Arcadia is much more prominent than the political allegory. 'Ebenso *sicher*[1]) wie der politische Grundcharakter der Arcadia ist nun aber die weit mehr ins Auge springende Tatsache,

[1]) My italics. Z.

dasz die Arcadia schon in I einen Liebes- und Abenteuer-roman in der Art von Heliodor und Achilles Tatius darstellt, wodurch die Frage entsteht, ob nicht Sidneys ursprüngliche Absicht doch lediglich die war, einen Liebes- und Abenteuerroman zu schreiben, er also die politischen Elemente nur als etwas Sekundäres nachträglich hineinbrachte'. That this is not the case, according to Brie, is shown by the way the love story is made to depend on the political events; that is to say, if Basilius had not retired from active government, the princes could never have approached his daughters in disguise, nor could his wife and himself have fallen in love with the Amazon that was Pyrocles. With respect to this kind of logic it is perhaps sufficient to point out that although Basilius' retirement was a political act, it was prompted by a non-political motive, viz. his anxiety to avoid the threatenings of the oracle; and the reason why he consulted the latter had again nothing to do with politics, but resulted from 'the vanity wch possesseth many who ..... are desyerus to knowe the Certeinty of thinges to come, wherein there ys no thinge so certeyne as oure Continuall uncerteinty'. So much for the 'politische Grundcharakter', if this is to be deduced from the sequence of cause and effect in the plot.

After devoting more than fifty pages to the political aspect, Brie discusses at equal length 'Die moralischen Absichten der Arcadia'. As our criticism of the preceding chapters may have somewhat obscured their merits, let us state at the outset that the present one, in spite of its far-reaching conclusions, provides a valuable analysis of the moral foundations of the *Arcadia*. Here again, though we may disagree with Brie's reconstruction of the original design, we must give him due credit for having done a great deal of spadework and unearthed the essential part of the elements of Sidney's thought embedded in the romance.

In this chapter, too, Brie strikes one frequently as over-subtle, and proud of it. He is in no way inferior to the boldest of sixteenth-century commentators. When he writes (p. 35): 'Sidneys und Spensers Auslegung der groszen Epen von Antike und Renaissance als moralisch-lehrhafter Allegorien hat für den modernen Kritiker etwas Überraschendes und zugleich Unnatürliches' — one feels tempted to apply the same remark to Brie's

own 'interpretation' of the *Arcadia*. On another page he observes: 'Die Gefahren einer solchen allegorischen Auslegungsweise zeigt am deutlichsten wohl Harington, der als Beispiel die antike Erzählung von Perseus, der die Gorgo erschlägt und zum Himmel auffliegt, auf fünffache Weise auslegt, darunter historisch, moralisch und religiös; wie er erinnert auch Webb, der in den Erzählungen Chaucers gewichtige Weisheit erblickt, an die schlimmsten antiken Kritiker'. Yet it never seems to have occurred to him to take the example of these critics as a warning against the assumption, on purely deductive grounds, of a conscious allegorical purpose in the *Arcadia*.

Brie undoubtedly has the makings of a mystagogue in him. He does not expect the shells to fall all at once from the reader's eyes. Even Sidney's contemporaries, in so far as they had had no humanistic training, probably failed to see the 'high aims' pointed out by Greville. And as regards the impressions of the present-day reader, 'so müssen wir eingestehen, dasz Sidney es ausgezeichnet verstanden hat, dem unkundigen Auge die höheren Ziele der Arkadia zu verschleiern'. As we have seen, Brie is sometimes hard put to it to elucidate the political allegory; but this is clarity itself compared to the moral purpose of the *Arcadia*. 'Zum Unterschied von der politischen ist die moralische Allegorie so diskret, dasz sie dem modernen Leser ohne Kenntnis der allegorischen Interpretationsweise der Renaissance kaum bemerkbar wird' (p. 112). This sentence betrays again the logical fallacy that vitiates all the learning and research embodied in the book. There is not one scrap of direct and authentic evidence that Sidney's object in writing the *Arcadia* was intentionally allegorical. Failing this, the interpretations that his contemporaries gave after his death, so far from affording presumptive evidence, are suspect from the very fact of having been inspired by the allegorical view of heroic poetry. Brie's work is really an anachronism; minus some of its merits, it might have been written by a literary critic of the seicento.

As in the chapter on the political aspect, so in that on the moral purpose of the *Arcadia* Aristotle is represented as the source whence Sidney drew his ideas. By the side of the former's *Ethics*, Plato's *Symposion* and *Phaedo* come in for a share of

'influence'. Some of the affinities pointed out are no doubt real; others are strained to a degree. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is repeatedly bracketed with the *Arcadia* as an outstanding example of the allegorical embodiment of ideas borrowed from Plato and Aristotle; and this alleged similarity is even said to be due to an understanding ('Verständigung') between Spenser and Sidney. Nay, Brie claims to have established the fact 'dass wir in Sidney den geistigen Urheber oder Anreger des Spenserschen Epos zu erblicken haben'. This is not the place to examine the grounds for Brie's assertion; recent opinion on the relation between the two men runs directly counter to his views, which smack of the gratuitous assumptions of Grosart[1]).

A sample of the incongruity between the tone of some passages of the *Arcadia* and Brie's interpretation of them occurs on page 116 of his book. The reference is to the beginning of chapter I of the third book of the revised *Arcadia*, where Pamela at last melts towards Musidorus, who, transported by such unexpected bliss, takes her in his arms and is repulsed for his presumption. One sentence has caught Brie's attention in his search for Aristotelean ideas: 'But after the strength of nature had made him able to feel the sweetnesse of joyfulnes, that again being a child of Passion, & never acquainted with mediocrity, could not set boũds upon his happines, nor be cõtent to give Desire a kingdome, but that it must be an unlimited Monarchy'. On this Brie comments as follows: 'Eine besonders interessante, ohne Beziehung auf Aristoteles gar nicht verständliche Anspielung liegt vor an der Stelle, wo Musidorus sich von der Leidenschaft seiner Liebe hinreissen lässt, Pamela zu umarmen und zu küssen. Die Pointe beruht auf der Aristotelischen Scheidung zwischen Tugenden und Lastern einerseits und Leidenschaften andererseits (Ethik II, 4). Pamelas unerwartetes Entgegenkommen lässt Musidorus die Süsse der Freude fühlen; die Freude als eine Leidenschaft ist aber *a child of Passion, & never acquainted with mediocrity* und kann daher auch seinem

[1]) Cf. H. Maynadier, The Areopagus of Sidney and Spenser, *Modern Language Review*, IV, 289-301; P. W. Long, Spenser and Sidney, *Anglia*, 1914, 173-192; and M. Behler, Die Beziehungen zwischen Sidney und Spenser, Herrig's *Archiv*, 78 Jahrg. 53-59.

Glück keine Grenzen setzen (F 354). Ob der Dichter sich hier nicht mit leisem Vorwurf gegen Aristoteles wendet, mag dahingestellt bleiben. Es wäre durchaus möglich angesichts einer andern Stelle, die vielleicht als Kritik an Aristoteles aufzufassen ist: Argalus ist so vollkommen, dass kaum der kritischste Blick einen Fehler an ihm zu finden vermag, *if the over-vehement constancie of yet spotles affection, may not in harde wrested constructions be counted a spot* (F 31)'. To this last sentence is appended a note running as follows: 'Das wäre um so eher möglich, als Sidney auch in der *Apology* (a. a. O. S. 13) beim Vergleich des Dichters und des Moralphilosophen die Lehrmethode des letzteren mit einem Unterton von Ironie schildert'. And so, in a crescendo of surmise: 'mag dahingestellt bleiben' — 'wäre durchaus möglich' — 'wäre um so eher möglich' — we have almost reached another 'Tatsache': that Sidney both followed and criticized Aristotle in the *Arcadia*. Indeed, 'Sidney hat es ausgezeichnet verstanden, dem unkundigen Auge die höheren Ziele der Arkadia zu verschleiern'!

According to Brie the traditional medieval notions of honour, truth, virtue and love are here, for the first time in English literature, consciously replaced by a definite ethical system [1]). Under Aristotle's influence Sidney also considers the question if and in how far woman is capable of virtue. Aristotle, like Plato, holds that man and woman both partake of virtue, but in different ways, woman only in so far as is requisite for her task in life. Self-control, valour, justice etc. are 'governing' virtues in man, 'obedient' virtues in woman. Hence Sidney shows in his most celebrated female figure, Philoclea, that woman has nothing to do with absolute virtue; she is stirred by the contradictory emotions proper to minds 'which nether absolutly clime the rocke of Vertue, nor freely sinke into the sea of Vanitie'. Again there is a note: 'Vgl. dazu die Ansicht des Aristoteles, dass die Schamhaftigkeit noch keine Tugend ist (Ethik IV, 15)'. It all sounds very plausible; but how does it fit Pamela?

Among the principal points of contact between the *Arcadia*

[1]) P. 120.

and the writings of Plato and Aristotle, according to Brie, are the representation of Pyrocles and Musidorus as embodiments of absolute virtue, and the description of magnanimity, friendship, private and public virtues, and love as exemplified by the two princes and by other leading characters in the romance. All these features Brie explains as projections of the doctrines taught by the two philosophers. His exposition does impress one with a strong presumption that these ideas contributed largely to the make-up of Sidney's thought. In his eagerness to formulate Sidney's 'programme' for the *Arcadia*, however, Brie often puts a more 'allegorical' construction on a phrase or passage than the words will carry. Such categorical statements as his require more conclusive proofs than he is able to adduce. The reader is so often called upon to distrust the evidence of his senses and to divine all sorts of subtleties below the surface that he ends by suspecting the author of overdoing the trick. It is all far too deliberate and systematic; and the flaws in the argument are too numerous and too plain for it to carry conviction. If Brie had been content to point out the affinities between Sidney's conceptions of government, love, virtuous conduct and the like, and those of the great thinkers to whose works he had access, without insisting that these affinities dominate the *Arcadia*, and that it was to illustrate these conceptions by way of allegory that the romance was chiefly written, any further examination of it from the ideological point of view might have supplemented, but could not have invalidated his conclusions. As it is, one has to question his thesis before one can utilize his data [1]).

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[1]) One of the gravest objections to Brie's view of the *Arcadia* as an allegorical epic prose-poem is casually stated by himself in the last sentence of his book: 'Von vornherein hatte Sidney auf zwei Dinge verzichtet, die zu seiner Zeit sonst die Voraussetzung zu einer grossen epischen Dichtung zu sein pflegten, auf nationalen und religiösen Gehalt'.

The remaining chapters (nine in all, though they occupy no more than one half of the work) are less open to criticism than those on the political and moral 'aims'; on the contrary, they contain valuable contributions to our knowledge of Sidney and his romance. We shall have occasion to refer to the contents of some of them in the further course of our argument.

We have seen how the theory of the allegorical intention of Sidney's *Arcadia*, first advanced by Greenlaw among modern critics, is carried to extremes by Brie. It is pleasant to be able to return to Greenlaw to see the 'allegory' reduced to proper proportions.

At the end of his Kittredge paper, Greenlaw had promised to show elsewhere that Sidney's intention was not vaguely moral, but meant to apply to political conditions in his own time and to the crisis that he saw was coming upon England. This promise he carried out in an essay on 'The Captivity Episode in Sidney's Arcadia', contributed to the *Manly Anniversary Studies*, 1923, (pp. 54-63). It appears that the crisis referred to was the conflict with Spain, in which the French marriage scheme, against which Sidney had protested, was a phase. The scheme, which was favoured by Catherine de Medici, queen mother of France, was regarded by Sidney and many other Englishmen as a popish plot to get control of England. Greenlaw thinks that the figure of Cecropia, in the third book of the revised version, 'dark, sinister, with something of the serpent about her', was suggested by Catherine of France. 'Her subtlety, her atheism, her worldliness, the suggestion of almost demonic personality, her plot to gain control of Basilius by means of this marriage, are parallels too close to escape notice'. The rest of the paper is taken up by a demonstration that the debate between Cecropia and Pamela is meant as an attack upon the Lucretian philosophy.

Thus far we might be reading Brie. But a few words on page 56, some lines on the next, and a note on page 58, reveal the fact that Greenlaw's attitude to the *Arcadia* has undergone a fundamental change since his Kittredge paper. The final sentence of the latter is repeated, but 'Sidney's intention' is qualified by 'at least in part'. On page 58, one is almost startled to read: 'I do not believe that he wrote the romance primarily as a political allegory. Basilius, of course, is not Elizabeth, but the Prince, the type of a prince misguided by want of perception of his duties, set over against Euarchus, type of princely wisdom'. This is a far cry from Brie. And the 'allegorical' theory virtually goes by the board in the footnote: 'I do not believe that

Sidney wrote with propagandist design. He had done his utmost in his letter to the Queen. But when he wrote, his knowledge of life, his acquaintance with the great actors on the stage of Europe, and his ideal of what a prose poem should be, all combined to color his narrative. That Cecropia equals Catherine, therefore, indicates not so much formal allegorical intent as the sort of influence that we find in the writings of many other novelists'.

Here we are on firm ground again, and it is with these sane words in mind that we now turn to our proper task in this chapter, that of inquiring what light is thrown by a comparison of the two *Arcadias* on Sidney's development as a thinker.

### *Individuality and Commonplace.*

Although the romance in either of its forms supplies abundant material for a study of the author's ideas, great caution is required if the reader is not to go astray in his method of interpretation. Our criticism of Brie's work has sufficiently shown the danger of starting with a preconceived notion of the writer's alleged purpose. But quite apart from this, there is the difficulty of deciding in how far, if at all, the ideas expressed or implied in any given passage are really characteristic of the author himself and in how far they merely reflect what was common to many writers of the period.

The beginning of the *New Arcadia* offers a case in point. The story opens with the 'hopeless' shepherd Strephon and his rival, the pastor Claius. bewailing the absence of their beloved Urania. Strephon recalls her 'ever florishing beautie'; when she had alighted from horseback before going aboard the vessel that was to carry her to the island of Cithera, 'reverence and desire' had divided Claius as he went to help her down. Claius admonishes his friend not to dwell exclusively on Urania's outward beauty:

> 'as this place served us to thinke of those thinges, so those thinges serve as places to call to memorie more excellent matters'. 'As the greatest thing the world can shewe, is her beautie, so the least thing that may be praysed in her, is her beautie'. '..... no more all that our eyes can see of her .....

is to bee matched with the flocke of unspeakable vertues laid up delightfully in that best builded folde. But in deede as wee can better consider the sunnes beautie, by marking how he guildes these waters, and mountaines then by looking upon his owne face, too glorious for our weake eyes; so it may be our conceits (not able to beare her sun-stayning excellencie) will better way it by her workes upon some meaner subject employed. And alas, who can better witnesse that then we, whose experience is grounded upon feeling? hath not the onely love of her made us (being silly ignorant shepheards) raise up our thoughts above the ordinary levell of the worlde, so as great clearkes do not disdaine our conference? hath not the desire to seeme worthie in her eyes made us when others were sleeping, to sit vewing the course of heavens? when others were running at base, to runne over learned writings? when other marke their sheepe, we to marke our selves? hath not shee throwne reason upon our desires, and, as it were given eyes unto *Cupid*? hath in any, but in her, love-fellowship maintained friendship betweene rivals, and beautie taught the beholders chastitie?'

It would be tempting to take this passage as the starting-point for a study of Sidney's ideas on love and beauty. To any one at all familiar, however, with the history of sixteenth-century thought it will be evident that it merely represents another variation upon the well-worn theme of so-called Platonic love. Urania symbolizes the 'heavenly' love which rises from the contemplation of the outward beauty of the beloved to that of the beauty of the beloved's soul; from the 'ever florishing *beautie*' on which Claius and Strephon 'did graze [1]) [their] eyes' to the 'unspeakeable *vertues*'. That the beloved is represented as a woman shows that Plato's doctrine had reached Sidney through modern channels. Even so, some of its original traits are still discernible in our passage. In *Phaedrus* the lover looking upon the face of his beloved reverences him like a god; Claius is divided between '*reverence* and desire'. In the same dialogue, Plato states that wisdom is the most lovely of all ideas, and that, were there a visible image of her, she would be transporting [2]). Similarly, Urania's excellence, like the light of the sun, is too dazzling for mortal eyes to behold, so that the two shepherds must be content to observe its effect upon themselves. On the

[1]) The Quarto reading is *gaze*, but see Feuillerat's notes.

[2]) J. S. Harrison, *Platonism in English Poetry*, (New York, 1915) points out that Sidney adopted this idea in the XXVth sonnet of *Astrophel and Stella*.

other hand, the '*hopelesse* shepherd Strephon' shows that we have to do with a literary convention rather than with any direct influence of Plato's philosophy [1]).

It will be clear that the only conclusion to be drawn from the passage is that Sidney was familiar with a trend of thought prevalent in contemporary European literature. His own contribution to the subject is practically nil.

In the instance just quoted the author's indebtedness is very clear. There are, however, other passages in the *Arcadia* whose provenience is less obvious, and whose significance has been either misinterpreted or at least incompletely understood. The following is an interesting example.

Among the parallel extracts quoted from the two *Arcadias* in chapter II, is the description of Kerxenus-Kalander's picture gallery. The original version mentions only the portrait of Philoclea and her parents; the revised version adds paintings representing Diana and Actaeon, Atalanta, 'besides many mo'.

In other parts of the *New Arcadia* there occur a few allusions to pictures and to pictorial methods. On page 76, Musidorus coming upon Pyrocles in his female disguise, looks at him in amazement 'as Apollo is painted when he saw Daphne sodainly turned into a Laurell'. The sentence is already in the original version (p. 15). On page 254, Basilius falls down upon his knees before Zelmane, 'holding up his hands, as the old governesse of *Danae* is painted, when she sodainly saw the goldẽ showre'. On page 333 Plangus, making Erona's acquaintance in her captivity, perceives 'the shape of lovelinesse more perfectly in wo, then in joyfulnesse (as in a picture which receives greater life by the darkenesse of shadowes, then by more glittering colours)'. And on page 367 Amphialus, entering Philoclea's room, finds her '(because her chamber was over-lightsome) sitting of that side of her bedde which was from the windowe; which did cast such a shadow upon her, as a good Painter woulde bestowe uppon *Venus*, when under the trees she bewayled the murther of *Adonis*'.

[1]) Cf. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 160: 'Platonic love, as such an (early 17 c.) example proves, was but synonymous with hopeless love'.

These passages have by some critics been interpreted as showing that Sidney was a keen student of plastic art, and especially alive to the excellences of contemporary Italian painting. In his *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, page 263, Émile Legouis writes: 'Toutefois la véritable innovation de Sidney est, comme pour Spenser, et de façon toute indépendante, dans l'aiguisement de ses sens par la contemplation des œuvres plastiques. Dans son roman écrit alors que *La Reine des Fées* n'était guère encore qu'à l'état de projet, il a montré un sens de la ligne et de la couleur, des effets d'ombre et de lumière, qui était jusqu'alors ignoré en anglais. Il faut, pour l'apprécier, voir les pages où il décrit le jardin à l'italienne de Kalander, et surtout les œuvres d'art du pavillon situé au fond de ce jardin. Il faut l'y voir se complaire à analyser et à commenter les intentions du sculpteur ou du peintre'.

Brie (page 315 ff.) expresses himself in much the same way. 'Aus der Arcadia allein liesse sich in der Tat feststellen, dass Sidney einen tieferen Eindruck als irgend ein anderer Dichter seiner Zeit von Architektur, Plastik und Malerei der Renaissance empfing. Wenn er auch die Anregung zur literarischen Verwertung seiner Kunstkenntnisse von Achilles Tatius und Montemayor empfing, so hat er doch die Ausführung im einzelnen selbständig, vermutlich sowohl nach Lektüre theoretischer Schriften, als nach persönlichen Eindrücken gestaltet.'

Concerning Achilles Tatius. Brie refers in a footnote to Wolff's *Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*. Wolff's comment on the description of Kalander's paintings is very different from that of Legouis. In Sidney's descriptions of Diana and Atalanta he recognizes 'Achilles Tatius's stock devices of "conflicting emotions" and of speaking of a picture as if it were alive' [1]). Of Sidney's knowledge of Italian painting, not a word; according to Wolff the whole passage can be accounted for by the influence of Greek romance. Brie does not, indeed, reject this explanation, he even suggests the additional influence of Montemayor, but he insists on Sidney's connoisseurship. 'Er scheint bei der Schilderung von Situationen und Gestalten bisweilen an be-

[1]) Pages 334-335.

stimmte Gemälde als Vorbilder angeknüpft zu haben'; 'Mag ..... auch der Einfluss Heliodors im Spiele sein, so gewinnt man doch den Eindruck, dass die Ausmalung im einzelnen under dem Einfluss der Erinnerung an bestimmte Bilder steht'.

Apparently, therefore, the American critic finds himself in direct opposition to the views of both his German and his French colleague. The agreement between the latter, however, is merely superficial. Though they have much the same things to say on Sidney's knowledge of art, it is noteworthy that, while Legouis cites Kalander's picture gallery as his only example, Brie does not mention this at all, and confines his attention to the other passages, in all of which the situation suggests comparison with some well-known picture or type of picture. The conflict of opinions is thus reduced to one between Wolff and Legouis on the significance of the scene in which Sidney describes certain pictures for their own sake. Granting that Brie may be right in seeing reminiscences of Italian art in the allusions to Danae, Daphne, etc., the question remains what significance, if any, is to be attached to the description of Kalander's collection.

This question cannot, we think, be answered by considering Sidney's case alone. It is a curious and fortunate circumstance that we have a fairly close parallel in Shakespeare. His poems and plays contain several descriptions of paintings and allusions to pictorial art. Consequently, as in Sidney's case, it has been assumed that he must have been 'familiar with a whole gallery of Renaissance pictures' [1]). For this hypothesis there is, of course, not a particle of evidence, whereas Sidney had at any rate been in Italy, and had had his portrait painted by Veronese. As far as we know, no attempt has yet been made to trace Shakespeare's descriptions of pictures to Achilles Tatius, though it would not be very difficult to make the latter's influence as plausible as in the case of Sidney. The parallel becomes really instructive only when we put some of Shakespeare's passages side by side with Sidney's. There is close similarity, even to

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[1]) The late Professor Raleigh, quoted in *Shakespeare in Pictorial Art* (1916), page 1.

verbal coincidence, between the description of Atalanta, and the following lines from *The Taming of the Shrew:*

Induction of *The Taming of the Shrew,* sc. II, 49-60:

'Dost thou love pictures? .....
— — — — — — —
Or *Daphne* roming through a thornie wood,
Scratching her legs *that one shal sweare she bleeds,*
And at that sight shal sad Apollo weepe,
So workmanlie the blood and teares are drawne'.

*New Arcadia,* vol. I, p. 18, ll. 8-12:

In another table was *Atalanta;* the posture of whose lims was so livelie expressed, that if the eyes were the only judges, as they be the onely seers, *one would have sworne the very picture had runne.*

In *The Merchant of Venice* (III, II, 115-118), Bassanio speaks of Portia's counterfeit 'as if it were alive':

'What demie God
Hath come so neere creation? *move these eies?*
Or whether riding on the bals of mine
Seeme they in motion?'

Instructive, too, is the comparison of the elaborate description of the

'peece
Of skilfull painting, made for PRIAMS Troy',

in *The Rape of Lucrece,* ll. 1366-1568. Several lines need no more than an adaptation of metrical to free verse to fit them for insertion into a passage of Sidneyan descriptive prose:

'Which the conceipted Painter drew so prowd,
As Heaven (it seem'd) to kisse the turrets bow'd.'
(1371-1372.)
'A thousand lamentable objects there,
In scorne of Nature, Art gave livelesse life.'
(1373-1374.)
'Such sweet observance in this worke was had,
That one might see those farre of eyes looke sad.'
(1385-1386.)

'On this sad shadow LUCRECE spends her eyes,
And shapes her sorrow to the Beldames woes,
Who nothing wants to answer her but cries,
And bitter words to ban her cruell Foes.
The Painter was no God to lend her those,
And therefore LUCRECE swears he did her wrong,
To give her so much griefe, and not a tong.'
(1457-1463.)

A comparison of these and similar passages in Shakespeare [1]) with Sidney's description of Kalander's pictures brings out two remarkable facts. First, that the two authors made use of similar stylistic devices. This aspect belongs to our next chapter and, therefore, need not detain us here. What is important for our present purpose is that we find in their writings the same mental attitude towards pictorial art. No one will probably suppose that Shakespeare's attitude was due to the 'influence' of a single page of the *Arcadia*. Both Sidney and Shakespeare reflect the mentality of their period. It has been said of Shakespeare that 'imitative rather than suggestive realism, with vivacity of presentment, is the pictorial quality he most values'; and further: 'That a picture should tell a story, and tell it convincingly, was for him all that mattered' [2]). In treatises on painting, from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth, these ideas crop up again and again [3]). According to Alberti, *Della Pittura* (1436), 'to have life, a picture must seem to stir in every part'. More than two hundred years later, Roger de Piles, in his translation of du Fresnoy's *De arte graphica*, narrates with evident relish how Rembrandt deceived the passers-by into imagining a picture of his servant displayed in a window was the maiden herself, and to affirm that the essence of painting is *'de surprendre les yeux et de les tromper, s'il est possible'*.

We are now in a better position to appreciate the real significance of Sidney's passage on Kalander's pictures. On the whole, Wolff is nearer the truth than Legouis, though it is only

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[1]) See also, e. g., *Timon of Athens*, I, i, 21 ff.; *Venus and Adonis*, ll. 289-292.

[2]) *Shakespeare in Pictorial Art*, pp. 1, 2.

[3]) See W. G. Howard, *Ut Pictura Poesis*. *P. M. L. A.*, Vol. XXIV, N. S. vol. XVII, 1909. Pp. 40-123.

part of the truth which he tells us. To read Sidney's descriptions as personal impressions of pictorial art is to mistake the general for the individual. Like Shakespeare's, they are symptomatic, not of this or that particular author's response to contemporary painting, but of the aesthetic attitude of the period [1]). That this should have its roots in classical and Hellenistic traditions is not surprising; the literary criticism of the time bears the same affinity to ancient precedents as the pictorial, and strikes us by the same lack of modern values. The anecdote about Rembrandt's servant is of a piece with those on Zeuxis's grapes, or Myron's cow. Wolff creates a wrong impression when he reduces the whole matter to the influence of one particular Hellenistic author upon one particular sixteenth-century Englishman. Like the neo-Platonic opening of the *New Arcadia*, the passage on Kalander's pictures is interesting as a contribution to the history of sixteenth-century thought, rather than for any light it throws upon Sidney's own mental attitude [2]).

It will be clear that an analysis of the entire *Arcadia* on the lines here indicated would considerably exceed the scope of this investigation. Nor is it necessary that we should conscientiously sift every likely fragment of the romance in order to determine how much of its 'thought' was Sidney's own, and how much of it was commonplace. What is essential is that it should be understood that the terms 'thought' and 'thinker' are used here without any implication of originality or profundity. On the other

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[1]) How deeply rooted is the idea of 'imitative realism' appears even from a casual reference to pictorial art like the following. In her captivity, Pamela consoles herself with embroidering a purse with roses and lilies. One could see that she was concentrating her whole attention upon the work, 'For the flowers she had wrought, caried such *life* in them, that the cuñingest painter might have learned of her needle.' (Feuillerat, vol. I, p. 402, ll. 16-18.)

[2]) The description of Atalanta's picture does not exhaust the significance of our passage for the history of aesthetics. It would, e.g. be interesting to investigate the relation to contemporary ideas on *allegorical* painting of the portrait of Philoclea and her parents. The princess is depicted standing between Basilius and Gynecia: 'the painter meaning to represent the present condition of the young Ladie, who stood watched by an over-curious eye of her parents'. Philoclea's position in the picture is, therefore, symbolic of her condition in life.

hand, our enquiry will not be limited to specimens of conscious ratiocination, but take in anything that seems of interest for the study of Sidney's mentality.

## *Love and Friendship.*

Among the ideas that appear to have been uppermost in Sidney's mind at the time when he wrote and recast his romance, are those of friendship and love. It has been said [1]) that 'romantic and on the whole illicit love had been the chief subject of medieval poetry, and it was perhaps partly in reaction against this that friendship seemed at one time likely to become the chief emotional experience of Elizabethan literature and so of the modern world'. In the *Arcadia* we find the two subjects closely combined. Brie [2]) is probably right in assuming that the glorification of friendship is the reason why Sidney chose two heroes for his romance instead of one. In all essentials, the treatment of this theme is already fully developed in the original version. In the *New Arcadia*, the passage dealing with the education of the two friends has been elaborated; the difference in age between them has been increased from one year to three, and the beneficial effect of this difference on either friend is emphasized. Musidorus, who in the *New Arcadia* tells Pamela the story of their lives, declares: 'Among which I nothing so much delight to recount, as the memorable friendship that grewe betwixt the two Princes, such as made them more neer one to the other, then the neerenes of their bloud could aspire unto' (I, 190, 15-19). It is somewhat surprising to find that, whereas

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[1]) Janet Spens, Chapman's Ethical Thought, *Essays and Studies*, XI, p. 154.

[2]) *l. c. p.* 130. At the same time, it seems probable that Sidney took a suggestion from *Amadis de Gaule*. Book XI, chap. III of this romance tells of the birth and education of Rogel de Grece and Agesilan. 'Or n'y eut en son temps Cheualier au monde que Rogel ne deuançast beaucoup en courtoysie & prouësse, fors Agesilan son cousin, lequel en toutes bonnes parties le costoyoit de si pres, qu'ils sembloyent à maintes gens voler quasi tout d'vne ælle'. Agesilan pursues his studies at Athens, together with another cousin of his, Dom Arlanges; both don disguise in order to gain admittance to the fair Diane.

in the *Old Arcadia* Pyrocles takes Musidorus into his confidence as soon as he feels smitten with love of Philoclea, in the revised version he eschews conference with his bosom friend, and secretly takes his departure, leaving only a brief note behind. The alteration heightens the dramatic effect of the story, but seems to do so at the expense of the characterisation, much as in the case of Clitophon, who is made to commit an indiscretion for the sake of the verisimilitude of the narrative [1]). In the *New Arcadia*, Musidorus naturally reproaches Pyrocles for his desertion; Pyrocles retorts the charge, and Musidorus goes so far as to threaten him with the disruption of their friendship. 'Other wise give me leave, to leave of this name of friendship, as an idle title of a thing which cannot be, where vertue is abolished'. This sentence, all but the first five words of which occur in the revised version only, confirms Brie's statement (l.c. p. 131) concerning the affinity of Sidney's ideas on the inseparable connection between friendship and virtue, with those expressed by Aristotle and Cicero. The influence of these authors, however, fails to account for the curiously emotional character of the relation between the two friends, which reaches a climax in the present scene, after Musidorus' menacing words. Their effect on Pyrocles is so overwhelming that 'gushing out aboundance of teares' he falls down in a 'traunce'. Musidorus

'falling down by him & kissing the weping eyes of his friend, he besought him not to make account of his speach; which if it had bene over vehement, yet was it to be borne withall, because it came out of a love much more vehement; that he had not thought fancie could have received so deep a wound: but now finding in him the force of it, hee woulde no further contrary it; but imploy all his service to medicine it, in such sort, as the nature of it required. But even this kindnes made *Pyrocles* the more melte in the former unkindnes, which his manlike teares well shewed, with a silent look upō *Musidorus*, as who should say, And is it possible that *Musidorus* should threaten to leave me? And this strooke *Musidorus* minde and senses so dumbe too, that for griefe being not able to say any thing, they rested, with their eyes placed one upon another, in such sort, as might well paint out the true passion of unkindnes to be never aright, but betwixt them that most dearely love.'

[1]) See ch. II, p. 105.

The passage is too long to quote entire, and should be read, either in the *New Arcadia* (I, 83), or in the original version (IV, 21—22), where it is already fully elaborated. It displays a kind of sensibility which we nowadays regard as peculiarly feminine; the epithet '*manlike* tears' sounds decidedly incongruous in the context. In a nineteenth-century novel a scene like this, with its mutual reproaches, its fainting-fit, and its relenting of the older and wiser party, might have occurred between man and wife, or between two women friends. The domain of friendship between men has become more restricted than it used to be.

In the *Arcadia,* the claims of friendship are so strong that love of a woman seems incompatible with them. The only way to avoid a break between the two princes, after Pyrocles has become a slave to passion, — note the correlatives friendship-virtue, love-passion — is for Musidorus to fall in love as well. Sidney's conception of love is a curious medley of notions derived from Greek and medieval romance and from neo-Platonism. Brie, as usual, stresses the latter at the expense of the former. 'In der Arcadia [wird] ... der moralische Zwiespalt dahin gelöst, dass die Leidenschaft sich nach einigen kleinen Irrungen unter die Leitung von *Reason* begibt und so zur reinen, tugendhaften Liebe wird'. (*op. c.* p. 157). Now that we have the scenes between Musidorus and Pamela, and between Pyrocles and Philoclea, as Sidney originally wrote them [1]), the small offences against the guidance of Reason appear less insignificant. Sidney's lovers have not assimilated Platonism to the extent Brie seems to suppose. They treat love quite frankly as a passion; the claims of reason are not recognised till the day after.

To a modern reader, Pyrocles' position as a lover is rather baffling. A man disguised as a woman, in love with a girl, loved by the girl's mother as a man, by the girl's father as a woman — one hesitates whether to call the situation preposterous or indecent. Considering all implications, Sidney has not brought off the story too badly. Nor has he, like some later

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[1]) See ch. I, page 32.

writers [1]), used the disguise-motif as a device to cloak a study of inversion. A Freudian critic might be interested in Philoclea's dreams, but he would find little else to turn to his account. The *Arcadia* abounds with situations which to some modern authors would seem charged with morbid possibilities. Such is the scene in the second book of the revised version (I, 264—269) in which is described 'the execution of Ladies done on a Light-of-love'. Passing by a wood, Pyrocles hears loud, pitiful cries, as of a man in pain. Drawing near, he finds a gentleman bound to a tree 'with many garters, hand and foot', and nine 'Gentle-women' torturing him with bodkins. It appears that the victim had brought this punishment on himself by deceiving all these ladies with false promises of marriage. At length they had caught him in an ambush, and executed upon him their just revenge. Sidney took the story, with many others, from *Amadis of Gaul* (XI, 72) where the faithless knight is tied to a tree naked; in the *Arcadia* he is 'unarmed of any defence from the wast upward, but onely of his shirte'. The alteration is not insignificant. Sidney's treatment of the episode shows that certain aspects of sex-psychology, emphasized in modern literature, meant nothing whatever to him. If anyone should doubt this, let him compare the scene with one of D. H. Lawrence's short stories: *Tickets, please* (in his collection *England, my England* [2])

Attention has already been drawn to a passage in the second version describing Pyrocles after his return from the Helots [3]). It is one of the best pieces of verbal portraiture in the *Arcadia*, and a triumph of antithetical style. One realizes the fascination of the beholders as they make 'their eyes quicke messengers to their minds, that there they had seene the uttermost that in mankind might be seene'. On the eve of his love for Philoclea, Pyrocles is depicted in the full flush of youthful heroism, and of what, not only for want of a better term, one is tempted to call virginity. There seems nothing impossible in his donning female disguise and passing for a Amazon. Yet

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[1]) Tieje, *op. cit.*, note 69.

[2]) Tauchnitz, 1928.

[3]) See ch. II, p. 110.

in spite of the feminine touch about him, his sexual reactions are perfectly normal. Those he sets up in the three persons with whom he comes in contact, conclusively prove that this is no study of inversion. Only a dotard like Basilius is deceived by his outward appearance. Gynecia no sooner sees him than she penetrates his disguise. Philoclea's reaction provides the surest test. What her mother had detected at once, she realizes by slow degrees, through the instinctive evolution of her response to Pyrocles' presence. The process is purely internal, quite independent of any objective indications of the Amazon's real identity.

Normal love under abnormal conditions might be called the main subject of the *Arcadia*. Within these limits the action develops, with just the faintest occasional suggestion of things beyond. Before taking Philoclea into her confidence, Pamela 'telling her they might talke better as they lay together, they impoverished their cloathes to inriche their bed, which for that night might well scorne the shrine of *Venus:* and there cherishing one another with deare, though chaste embracements; with sweet, though cold kisses; it might seeme that Love was come to play him there without darte; or that weerie of his owne fires, he was there to refreshe himselfe betweene their sweete-breathing lippes'. (I, 176, 22-29). This is followed by Pamela's confession of her love of Musidorus.

What a German author has expressively, if not elegantly, termed 'die Hosenrolle' [1]) is filled by the princess Zelmane, who follows Pyrocles, apparelled like a page, 'with a pittifull crueltie cutting of her golden haire, leaving nothing, but the short curles, to cover that noble head'. The episode has already been discussed in our previous chapter.

In view of the expurgation of the last three books of the *Old Arcadia* by the Countess of Pembroke, it is natural to enquire if Sidney himself would have adopted this course, had he lived to complete the revision. Numerous passages in the *New Arcadia* show that he would probably have done nothing of

[1]) Alfred Holtmont, *Die Hosenrolle. Variationen über das Thema: Das Weib als Mann.* München, 1925.

the kind. In the revised books he displays the same fondness for the sensual aspect of love that characterizes the first draft. The scene where Pyrocles watches the princesses bathing in the river Ladon has already been referred to (page 108). On pages 166 and 167 Pyrocles' sensations on coming into close bodily contact with Philoclea, owing to the narrowness of the coach, are described with unmistakable gusto. So is the dalliance between the two lovers on pages 307 and 308; more than once we are told how hard the two princes find it to restrain themselves when alone with their ladies. A philosophical note is struck in a passage in which Musidorus comments on the troubled course of human love as compared with that of beasts (p. 154):

'Many times, when my masters cattle came hether to chewe their cudde, in this fresh place, I might see the young Bull testifie his love. But how? with proud lookes, and joyfulnes. O wretched mankind (said I then to my selfe) in whom witte (which should be the governer of his welfare) becomes the traitor to his blessednes. These beasts, like children to nature, inherite her blessings quietly; we, like bastards, are layd abroad, even as foundlinges to be trayned up by griefe and sorrow. Their mindes grudge not their bodies comfort, nor their sences are letted from enjoying their objects: we have the impediments of honor, and the torments of conscience.'

Though Milton justly termed the *Arcadia* a 'vain and amatorious poem' [1]), it is not concerned with sensual love alone. Married love, with the emphasis on faith and comradeship, is prominent in the episode of Argalus and Parthenia, which runs through the whole revised version; and Cecropia, in order to persuade Philoclea into marrying her son, exalts the joys of motherhood (page 379). At the other end of the scale is the antimasque of Miso's 'old-wives tale, and ballad against Cupid' (pages 237—239), a grotesque parody on the all-absorbing theme of the romance. The old hag with her ' Ferret eies ', 'her nose seeming to threaten her chin, & her shaking lims one to threaten another', croaking 'whatsoever you thinke of me, you will one day be as I am', describes a picture of Love, shown to

[1]) *Eikonoklastes*, Bohn's Standard Library, Prose Works, volume I, p. 327—328.

her when she was a young maid by a 'good wold woman' in her village.

'With that she broght me into a corner, where ther was painted a foule fiẽd I trow: for he had a paire of hornes like a Bull, his feete cloven, as many eyes upon his bodie, as my gray-mare hath dappels, & for all the world so placed. This mõster sat like a hãgman upõ a paire of gallowes, in his right hand he was painted holding a crowne of Laurell, in his left hand a purse of mony, & out of his mouth honge a lace of two faire pictures, of a mã & a womã, & such a coũtenance he shewed, as if he would perswade folks by those alureme̅ts to come thither & be hanged. I, like a te̅der harted wench, skriked out for feare of the divell. Well (sayd she) this same is even Love: therefore do what thou list with all those fellowes, one after another; & it recks not much what they do to thee, so it be in secreat; but upon my charge, never love none of them.'

So much 'for amorous Courting, (he was young in years;)'. Dobell, who was not, apparently, in sympathy with the erotic character of the *Arcadia*, observes that 'it can hardly be denied that there was in Sidney's mind a somewhat undue predominance of the sexual element'. A comparison of the two versions shows that, so far from loosing its hold on Sidney's thought, this element led him to elaborate the theme of love in various directions, and that, while assimilating the neo-Platonic and related conventions, he continued to stress its sensual aspect. We have already seen that his sister's edition of the latter half of the *Old Arcadia* misrepresents the initial phase of this development.

### *Political Ideas.*

When Pyrocles, newly fallen in love, expatiates to his astonished friend on the pleasures of solitariness, the latter 'framed in his mynde a Reply ageanst yt, in the prayse of Honorable action in shewyng that suche kynde of Contemplacyon ys but a gloryous tytle to Idlenes: That in action a man did not onely better him self, but, benefitt others. That the Goddes woulde not have delivered a sowle into the body, whiche hathe armes and legges onely instrumentes of Dooynge, but that yt were intended, the mynde shoulde employ them, and that the mynde

shoulde best knowe his owne good or evell by practize' [1]). We may be sure that these words were assigned to Musidorus, not by way of a rhetorical declamation, but as an expression of Sidney's inmost conviction. More even than the sensuous bias, the desire for action was characteristic of Sidney's mind. We find it in numerous places in the *Arcadia*, as well as in his other writings. On March 1, 1578, he wrote to Hubert Languet: 'Quem enim ad finem sunt nobis nostrae cogitationes ad variam cognitionem excitandæ, nisi locus illius exercendæ detur, ut inde publica utilitas redundet, quod in corrupto seculo sperare non licet'. (Feuillerat, vol. III, p. 119). This sentence supplies the key to Sidney's mental development during the period in which he composed the *Arcadia*. Eager for action, he was for a number of years doomed to inactivity. No man was ever less fitted for a life of enforced leisure. The energy he was unable to expend on practical aims, must find an outlet elsewhere. It fertilized his imagination, and the *Arcadia* was one of the results. The story illustrates the dangers of retirement; and it was probably his own experience, rather than Elizabeth's lack of enterprise, that suggested it. But around this central theme are grouped episodes whose keynote is action, not leisure; and their number has been greatly increased by the revision. It is in these that Sidney has allowed his ideals of government and 'publica utilitas' to crystallize. While his fancy played around the groves of Arcadia, the state of England and of Europe was never long absent from his thoughts. As Greenlaw has observed, his knowledge of life and his acquaintance with the great actors on the stage of Europe combined to colour his narrative; nor is it necessary to go the length of stretching the *Arcadia* on the Procrustean bed of allegorical interpretation, in order to form an impression of what ideas were occupying his mind in its development towards maturity.

Sidney's conception of the ideal Prince finds its embodiment in Euarchus, King of Macedon. In the *Old Arcadia*, he is briefly described as 'a Prince of suche Justice, that hee never

[1]) Feuillerat, *Works*, vol. IV, 13, 24-32; also I, 58, 3-10.

thought him self priviledged by beeyng a Prince, nor did measure greatenes by any thinge but by goodnes'. (Feuillerat, vol. IV, p. 7, ll. 8-11). It is added that 'hee did thereby roote an Awfull love in his subjectes towardes him', and that he 'carryed a hart prepared for all extremityes, (as a man that knewe both whatt yll mighte happen to a Man never so prosperus, and with all, what the uttermoste of that yll was)'.

In the *New Arcadia* these few lines have been elaborated into an interesting political excursus (Feuillerat, vol. I, 184, l. 31—187, l. 28). Besides, as we have seen [1]), the fifth Book of the Folio edition of 1593 (Feuillerat, vol. II, 149, 14—153, 1), contains a fragment on Euarchus which is absent from the mss., and which was probably to have formed part of the revised version. The picture of the perfect monarch drawn in these passages is by no means an abstraction; it abounds in allusions easily recognisable for any one who is but slightly versed in sixteenth-century history. On his accession, Euarchus finds his kingdom in a disordered state, the result of faction and misrule. His father and grandfather having both died young, the government had been in the hands of some great nobles, who had abused it for their own private ends. Euarchus by firm measures puts a stop to their usurpations; attempts at resistance are sternly repressed. 'But so soone as some fewe (but in deede notable) examples, had thundred a duetie into the subjects hartes, he soone shewed, no basenes of suspition, nor the basest basenes of envie, could any whit rule such a Ruler.' Euarchus speedily wins the love and confidence of his people. In his person the English ideal of kingship, to some extent embodied in Elizabeth, is contrasted with the practice of continental despotic monarchs. 'And therefore, where most Princes (seduced by flatterie to builde upon false grounds of government) make themselves (as it were) another thing from the people; and so count it gaine what they can get from them: and (as if it were two counter-ballances, that their estate goes hiest when the people goes lowest) by a fallacie of argument thinking themselves most Kinges, when the subject is most basely subjected:

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[1]) Ch. I, pp. 38—39.

he contrariwise, vertuouslie and wisely acknowledging, that he with his people made all but one politike bodie, whereof himselfe was the head; even so cared for them, as he woulde for his owne limmes.' In his foreign policy, he also shows a wise moderation. In olden times Macedon had a sovereignty over all the provinces of Greece; but Euarchus, 'whẽ he came to his crowne, finding by his later ancestors either negligẽce, or misfortune, that in some ages many of those duties [sc. of alle giance] had bin intermitted, would never stirre up old titles (how apparent soever) whereby the publike peace (with the losse of manie not guiltie soules) should be broken.' The allusion to the 'old titles' of the English crown to parts of France is obvious. Sidney's view of the matter appears to have been a more enlightened one than that of the worthy seventeenth-century divine who, in the preface to his book on the geography and history of the world [1]) states that he has been careful 'to assert the Rights of the English Nation: inherent personally in their Kings, by way of publick interest in the Subject also'..... 'And of this kind I reckon the true stating of the Title of the Kings of England to the Crown of France.'

The passage in the Folio also calls up the state of things in the Europe of Sidney's days. The Latins, who had already conquered the greater part of Italy, and who were casting covetous eyes at Greece, were planning an attack on this country. Basilius being in retirement, and Euarchus residing at Byzantium, they expected the coast to be bare of any defence.

'Which purpose though they made not knowne by any solemne denouncing of warre, but contrarywise gave many tokens of continuing still their former amitie: yet the stayeng of his subjects shippes, traffiquing as Merchants into those partes, together with the dayly preparation of shipping, and other warlike provisions in Portes, most convenient for the transporting of souldyers, occasioned *Euarchus* (not unacquainted with such practizes)

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[1]) Peter Heylin, *Cosmography*, 5th ed. 1677. There is a playful reference to the question in Sidney's letter to Languet, 10 October 1577 (*Works*, III, pp. 117-118). 'Sed ut nosti vous autres françois nous deves il y a long temps toute l'Aquitaine et la Normandie, mais vous feres plus tost banqueroutes que les paier; Et pourtant nous estimons peu tels debteurs et moins si mauvais fermiers'. The letter then continues in Latin again.

first to suspect, then to discerne, lastly, to seeke to prevent the intended mischiefe. Yet thinking warre never to be accepted, untill it be offred by the hand of necessitie, he determined so long openly to hold them his friends, as open hostilitie bewraied them not his enemies; not ceasing in the meane time by letters & messages to move the States of *Greece* by uniting their strength, to make timely provision against this perill: by many reasons making them see, that, though in respect of place some of thē might seeme further removed from the first violence of the storme, yet being imbarqued in the same ship, the finall wrack must needs be common to them all.'

In the writer of this passage we recognize the man who, as Elizabeth's ambassador, endeavoured to unite the Protestant princes of Germany into a confederacy against Rome and Spain. But Euarchus does more. 'His first care was to put his people in a readinesse for warre, and by his experienced souldiers to traine the unskilfull to martiall exercises'. He divides his kingdom into a number of districts, each under a military commander; he repairs and increases his navy, and fortifies those places on the coast where the enemy would be likely to land. Not content with issuing directions, he goes everywhere in person to see that his orders are obeyed. The passage reads like a description of the preparations made in England against the coming of the Spanish Armada. In Euarchus' case, military preparedness does not provoke, but prevent war. 'For the *Latines* finding by *Euarchus* procedings their intent to be frustrate (as before by his sodaine returne they doubted it was discovered) deeming it no wisdom to shew the will, not having the abilitie to hurt, had not only in free & frendly maner dismissed them [viz. the detained ships], but for the time wholy omitted their enterprise, attending the oportunitie of fitter occasion'.

One personal characteristic of Sidney's ideal king deserves notice: his Stoicism. Already in the *Old Arcadia* Euarchus carries a heart prepared for all extremities 'as a man that knewe both whatt yll mighte happen to a Man never so prosperus, and with all, what the uttermoste of that yll was '. In the revised version, in the midst of his warlike preparations, he is struck by the tidings of the death of his son and nephew. The effect of the blow is hinted rather than described: 'But the face of *Euarchus* sorow ..... cā no otherwise be shadowed out by the skilfullest pencel, thē by covering it over with the vaile of silēce. And in

deed that way himself took, with so pacient a quietnes receiving this pitifull relation, that all words of weakenes suppressed, magnanimity seemed to triumph over misery'.

Euarchus, it will have been observed, has the advantage over Basilius in every respect but one. Sidney had the good sense to see that he could not ascribe to the king of Macedon every politic virtue, and make him a patron of the arts as well. The latter rôle he reserved for Basilius. This fact in itself militates against the hypothesis of a conscious allegorical purpose in the *Arcadia*. The allegorist has no use for redeeming features in his wicked personages; his figures are either black or white Basilius' conduct as a ruler is most reprehensible; but he has the artistic temperament. When the latter trait is lost sight of, or unduly subordinated to the former, no unbiased view of the *Arcadia* is possible.

If the passages on Euarchus could leave any doubt concerning Sidney's political ideals, the riot episode in the second book of the revised version (Feuillerat, vol. I, p. 310 ff.) would soon dispel it. We have already dealt with the elaboration and improvement of the latter from the literary point of view [1]). The additions throw a curious light on Sidney's view of democracy. Once the commons, from 'the finer sort of Burgesses' down to the peasants, start meddling with matters of government, they incur his unmitigated contempt. One crafty hypocrite, a fellow in Cecropia's service, can stir up the populace to rise in arms for imaginary grievances; one resolute noble is sufficient to create dissension among the insurgents, and so quell the rebellion. The rioters are unanimous only so long as their aim is destructive; as soon as they are asked to state their requirements, they fall out among themselves. 'For the Artisans, they would have corne & wine set at a lower price, and bound to be kept so stil: the plowmen, vine-laborers, & farmers would none of that. The coũtrimen demaunded that every man might be free in the chief townes: that could not the Burgesses like of'. 'The finer sort of Burgesses, as Marchants Prentises, & Clothworkers, because of their riches, disdaining the baser occupations, & they because

[1]) See ch. II, page 93 ff.

of their number as much disdaining them: all they scorning the countrimens ignoraunce, & the countrymen suspecting as much their cũning'. The allusions to contemporary social conditions are again unmistakable. 'Here', cries Zelmane, 'be nether hard landlords, nor biting usurers' [1]). We seem to hear the familiar catchwords of the leaders of discontent:

'When certaine of them of wretched estates, and worse mindes (whose fortunes, change could not impaire) began to say, that your government was to be looked into; how the great treasures (you had levied amõg thẽ) had bene spent; why none but great men & gentlemen could be admitted into counsel, that the cõmons (forsooth) were to plain headed to say their opiniõs: but yet their blood & sweat must maintain all.' — 'Since the Countrie was theirs, and the governement an adherent to the countrie, why should they not consider of the one, as well as inhabite the other?' — 'Lastly, to have saide & heard so much, was as dãgerous, as to have attẽpted: & to attẽpt they had *the glorious name of liberty*' [2]) with them.'

That none but great men and gentlemen should be admitted into counsel was precisely Sidney's own idea. The claims of the lower and middle classes to a share in the government of their country were to him anti-constitutional. 'O what woulde the first *Arcadians* youre worthy predecessors saye, yf they lived at his tyme, and sawe theyre ofspring defacyng suche an excellent Monarchy? which they with muche laboure and bloode wysely establisshed?' — Cleophila answers the rebels in the original version. In the revised text, Sidney altered 'the first *Arcadians* youre worthy predecessors' into 'your fore-fathers', so that the words acquire a wider significance, and added: 'Do you thinke them fooles, that saw you should not enjoy your vines, your cattell, no not your wives & children, without government; and that there could be no government without a Magistrate, and no Magistrate without obedience, and no obediẽce where every one upon his owne private passion, may interprete the doings of the rulers?'

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[1]) See Thomas Wilson, *A Discourse upon Usury* (1572). Edited, with an historical introduction, by R. H. Tawney. 1925.

[2]) Reading of the Folios. The Quarto (and consequently Feuillerat's text) has: 'the name of glorious liberty'. The mss. read: 'the gloryous shewe of Comon Wealthe'.

A wise and strong monarch, who knows how to keep the great nobles in their places, and acknowledges that he with his people makes all but one politic body; lords and gentlemen admitted into counsel; the commons to abstain from prying into matters of government: such was Sidney's political creed, and considering the time in which he lived and his own station in life, it could hardly have been otherwise.

But if Sidney's view of democracy need cause no surprise, the brutal tone he adopts whenever referring to the lower classes as a whole or to any single member of them is harder for a modern reader to understand. When revising the riot scene, he expressly interpolated a would-be facetious passage full of gruesome details of the massacre of the rebels. He delights in their agonies like a boy torturing a cockchafer or a frog. Every plebeian in the *Arcadia* is fair game to his love of ridicule. A man like Kalander goes out of his way to repeat some verses containing a ludicrous description of Dametas' daughter Mopsa, which he has 'so often caused to be song, that [he has] them without booke'. The passages in which Dametas and his family are held up to scorn are frequently repellent to our taste; the aristocratic readers of the *Arcadia* no doubt thought them highly diverting. Evidently, one could be 'the president of Noblesse and of chevalree' and hold a base-born rustic of less account than a hound or a horse. Yet distasteful as this trait may be to us, we should take due note of it as a characteristic item in the mental constitution of Sidney and his circle. The *Arcadia* is by no means the only contemporary document for this peculiar attitude towards the vulgar. Robert Laneham's well-known *Letter* describing the royal pleasures at Kenilworth in the summer of 1575, contains a description of a rustic bride-ale, which breathes the same spirit of contemptuous ridicule. Laneham was not an aristocrat himself, but an 'officer attendant in the Coourt', and had assimilated the aristocratic mentality to the full. 'Then folloed the worshipfull Bride, led (after the cuntrie maner) betwéen too auncient parishionerz, honest toounsmen. But a stale stallion and a wel spred, (hot az the weather waz,) God wot, and an il smelling, waz she: a thirtie yéer old, of colour broun-bay, not very beautifull in déed, but vgly, fooul, ill fauord: yet

marueyloous fain of the offis, because shee hard say shee shoold dauns before the Quéen, in which feat shée thought shee woold foote it az finely az the best: Well, after this bride cam thear, by too and too, a dozen damzels for bridemaides: that for fauor, attyre, for facion and cleanlines, were az meete for such a bride, az a tréen ladl for a porige pot' [1]). Sidney was present at the scene described by Laneham, and we can imagine him making a mental note which was turned to account a few years afterwards.

The two versions of the episode of the Arcadian uprising finally enable us to judge what progress Sidney had made in a few years' time in practical wisdom and the art of managing men. But as his capacities in this direction may be gauged even better from another part of the romance, we will, for the sake of variety, transfer our attention to one of the early sections of Book III. We have already alluded to the account of Amphialus' preparations for war against Basilius [2]). The writer of this chapter [3]) must have been an accomplished man of action himself. Amphialus omits nothing that may help to strengthen his own position and weaken his opponent's. He begins by sending private letters to all those lords and gentlemen of the country, whom he thinks he can win over to his side: 'to each (according to the counsell of his mother) conforming himselfe after their humors. To his friends, friendlines; to the ambitious, great expectations; to the displeased, revenge; to the greedie, spoyle: wrapping their hopes with such cunning, as they rather seemed given over unto them as partakers: then promises sprong of necessitie'. If there is just a touch of Machiavellism about Amphialus' procedure, it is accounted for by the influence of

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[1]) Robert Laneham's *Letter*. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, 1907. Page 24. — That practical jokes played upon country people were quite acceptable among gentlemen also appears from a couple of anecdotes in Castiglione's *Courtier*. The 'merry pranks' told on pp. 164 and 175-176 of Hoby's translation (Everyman's Library) may help us to understand those played by Musidorus upon Dametas, Mopsa and Miso. — See also Wolff, *op. cit.* p. 433-434.

[2]) See ch. II, page 115.

[3]) Chap. 4. Feuillerat, vol. I, page 371 ff.

cropia. Next, like a modern state on the eve of war mobilising the press, Amphialus 'caused a justification of this his action to be written, wherof were sowed abroad many copies'. This done, he turns his attention to the fortification of his castle, and to the stocking of it with victuals, taking care 'as wel for the providing that which should suffice both in store & goodnesse, as in well preserving it, and wary distributing it, both in quantitie, and qualitie; spending that first which would keepe lest'.

'But wherein he sharpned his wits to the pearcingest point, was touching his men (knowing them to be the weapon of weapons, & master-spring (as it were) which makes all the rest to stir; *and that therefore in the Arte of man stood the quintessence, & ruling skill of all prosperous governement, either peaceable or military)*'. To each man he assigns the task that suits his disposition, 'knowing no love, daunger, nor discipline can sodainly alter an habite in nature'. 'Even of vices he made his profite, making the cowardly *Clinias* to have care of the watch, which he knew his own feare would make him very wakefully performe'. Like Euarchus, he superintends everything in person: 'him selfe rather instructing by example, then precept; being neither more sparing in travaile, nor spēding in diet, then the meanest souldier: his hand and body disdaining no base matters, nor shrinking from the heavy'. It is not difficult to find in Amphialus traits which remind us of the man who was to be the right hand of Leicester in that campaign which eventually cost him his life.

Neither the original *Arcadia*, nor the revised version, in themselves lend sufficient support to the theory that Sidney wrote the romance primarily as a political allegory. But a comparison of the two texts shows that, as time went on, his mind was increasingly occupied with questions of government and warfare. As the passages on love and friendship may be said to reveal the author in his personal relations — potential of course, rather than actual — with men and women, so those we have just analysed [1]) assist us in determining his attitude towards

[1]) The political passages selected are representative without being exhaustive.

the social and political problems of his age. It remains to see what light is thrown by the revision on the development of Sidney's thought in matters of philosophy and religion.

### *Philosophy and Religion.*

It has been observed [1]) that of subtlety of thought the first *Arcadia* had quite as much as it could conveniently carry. Such passages as Philanax's remonstrance with Basilius, full of wise maxims, and the disputation on reason and passion between Pyrocles and Musidorus in Book I, occur already in the original version. If it may seem surprising that a young man of about twenty-five should have strewn a tale of love with reflections that would have come more naturally from one of riper age, it must be remembered that his schoolfellow Fulke Greville, who had known Sidney from a child 'never knew him other than a man'. 'His talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind' [2]). In the probably autobiographical sketch which Sidney put into Philisides' mouth in the Fourth Eclogues of the *Old Arcadia*, and which was suppressed in the 1593 Folio [3]), he tells us:

'And assoone as my memory grewe stronge enough to receyve what might bee delyvered unto yt by my senses; they offered Learning unto mee, especially that kynde that teacheth what in truthe, and not in opinyon ys to bee embrased and what to bee eschewed. Neither was I barrd from seeking [4]) the Naturall knowledg of thinges so farr as the narrowe sighte of man hathe pearsed into yt ..... After that by my yeares or perchaunce by a [5]) sooner priviledg then yeares comonly graunt, I was thought able to bee myne owne Master, I was suffered to spende some tyme in travell, that, by the Comparyson of many thinges I might rypen my Judgment' [6]).

In his modest way, Sidney thus alludes to his remarkable intellectual precocity. Some of the questions that occupied his

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[1]) *The Times Lit. Suppl.*, Oct. 28, 1926.
[2]) *Life*, p. 6.
[3]) See page 38. Also our chapter on the Sources.
[4]) Thus *Bo & Qu. Cl* has *seeyng*.
[5]) Thus *Bo, Ph & Qu.* Absent in *Cl.*
[6]) Feuillerat vol. IV, p. 312, l. 27—p. 313, l. 3.

thoughts after his return from his travels are enumerated in Philisides' song [1]):

'Her [viz. Nature's] giftes my study was, her beutyes were my sporte,
My worcke her worckes to knowe, her Dwelling my Resort.
Those Lampes of Heavenly fyer to fixed motion bounde,
The [2]) ever turning Spheres the never mooving grounde.
What essence destny hathe yf fortune bee or no,
Whence oure Immortall sowles, to mortall Earthe doo flowe.
What Lyfe yt ys, and howe that all these Lyves do gather,
With owteward Makers force, or like an Inward Father.'

Evidence of Sidney's speculative turn of mind is to be found in many places in the first *Arcadia*. Pyrocles and Musidorus, awaiting their trial, beguile the time in prison with a discourse on whether after death the soul retains any memory of earthly things [3]).

'I doo not thincke the Contrary saide *Musidorus*, allthoo yow knowe yt ys greatly helde that with the deathe of body and sences (wch are not onely the beginning but dwelling and nourisshinge of Passions, thoughtes and Imaginacyons) they failing [4]), memory likewyse fayles, wch ryseth onely oute of them: And then ys there lefte nothing but the intellectuall parte or intelligence, wch voyde of all mortall vertues (wch stande in the meane of perturbations) dothe onely live in the Contemplative vertue, and power of the omnipotent good, the sowle of sowles and universall lyfe of this greate worcke, and therefore ys utterly voyde from the possibility of drawyng to yt self these sensible Consideracyons.'

Brie rightly points out that the discussion, as well as the situation which gives rise to it, is strongly reminiscent of Plato.

The *New Arcadia* shows no falling-off in intellectual quality. All the old interest in dialectics has remained, and among the additions there is at least one passage of considerable philosophical and religious importance. When Cecropia's attempts to persuade the captive Philoclea into marrying her son have failed, she transfers her efforts to Pamela. Finding her constant as well, she thinks to undermine the foundations of her virtue

[1]) Feuillerat vol. IV, p. 314, ll. 23-30.
[2]) Thus I, 395, 40. The Clifford ms. has *For*.
[3]) *Old Arcadia*, p. 345, l. 29 ff.
[4]) Thus the Folio (II, 165, 8). *Cl* has *falling*.

by atheistic arguments. As Brie [1]) and Greenlaw [2]) have pointed out, Pamela's indignant reply amounts to a criticism of the Epicurean doctrines of Lucretius, who was considered one of the chief enemies of religion. Cecropia's words almost read like a paraphrase of some well-known passages in Book V of *De Rerum Natura*: 'Feare, and indeede, foolish feare, and feare-full ignorance, was the first inventer of those conceates. For, when they heard it thunder, not knowing the naturall cause, they thought there was some angrie body above, that spake so lowde: and ever the lesse they did perceive, the more they did conceive' [3]). — 'All things follow but the course of their own nature, saving only Man, who while by the pregnancie of his imagination he strives to things supernaturall, meane-while he looseth his owne naturall felicitie' [4]). The poetic quality of the original is naturally lost in the paraphrase; or perhaps Sidney only had the general trend of Lucretius' argument in mind, rather than the *ipsissima verba*. And here we may note a characteristic difference between the modern attitude and that of the sixteenth century towards such a poem as *De Rerum Natura*. To the modern reader the philosophy of Lucretius is of mainly historical interest; it is his poetry which makes the strongest appeal. To a man like Sidney the latter was irrelevant in comparison with the doctrines set forth by the poet. In a sense one may say that he took Lucretius more seriously than we do, if only because the latter's theories provoke him to an outburst of religious indignation. 'Peace (wicked woman) peace, unworthy to breathe, that doest not acknowledge the breath-giver; most unworthy to have a tongue, which speakest against him, through whom thou speakest: .....' thus Pamela interrupts

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[1]) *Op. cit.* p. 163 f.

[2]) *Manly Anniversary Studies*, p. 59 ff.

[3]) Cf. *D. R. N.*, V, 1215-1218:
'Præterea cui non animus formidine divum
Contrahitur, cui non correpunt membra pavore,
Fulminis horribili cum plaga torrida tellus
Contremit et magnum percurrunt murmura cœlum?'

[4]) Cf. *D. R. N.*, V, 1191-1192:
'O genus infelix humanum, talia divis
Cum tribuit facta atque iras adjunxit acerbas!'

Cecropia. The Lucretian doctrine has been taken at every possible disadvantage by being put into the mouth of this personification of what the sixteenth century called Machiavellism; its ultimate aim is represented as the corruption of virtue. Praz [1]) has pointed out how in the Elizabethan mind Machiavelli's name came to be coupled with those of Aretino and Loyola. The *Arcadia* shows that we may add Lucretius.

In her zeal Pamela does not merely answer the arguments used by Cecropia, but proceeds to a formal refutation of the whole Lucretian system. That all this has nothing to do with the progress of the story is an objection which would probably have sounded rather stupid to Sidney and his readers. We need not follow Pamela's speech in detail, but may note that her cosmology is still pre-Copernican: 'For before there was a heaven, or earth [2]), there was neyther a heaven to stay the height of the rising, nor an earth, which (in respect of the round walles of heaven) should become a centre'.

Altogether, the subject was not one which a man like Sidney, living at the time he did, could discuss with academic composure. Pamela's reply quivers with a religious fervour which must have come straight from the author's heart. There is no need to emphasize the anachronism of the insertion of this or other religious passages into a tale of ancient Greece. In a mind like Sidney's, Christianity received such a strong admixture of Platonic and Stoic philosophy that there was nothing incongruous in the addition of a touch of Christianity to an atmosphere of religious paganism.

Throughout the *Arcadia* Sidney is careful to observe strict harmony between the nature of a speech or sentiment and the character to whom it is assigned. In the present instance we feel that the strong-minded Pamela is very appropriately cast for the part of apologist. But besides the discourse in which, according to the editor's caption 'The Auntes Atheisme' is 'refuted by the Neeces Divinitie', she is also made to pronounce that heartfelt utterance of devotion [3]) which Milton foolishly condemned

[1]) *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans.* British Academy Lecture, 1928.

[2]) Thus F—M. A—E read: *or a* (sic) *earth.*

[3]) Feuillerat, vol. I, p. 382, l. 35—p. 383, l. 20.

as proceeding 'from the mouth of a heathen woman praying to a heathen god' [1]). At a first reading one may wonder why this was not rather assigned to Philoclea; we are so accustomed to look upon prayer as the comfort of the weak in distress. For Sidney religion, both divinity and devotion, was primarily associated with strength and energy.

### *Conclusion.*

The foregoing is no more than a sketch of some of the salient features of Sidney's thought as manifested in the two versions of his romance. Nothing has been said of the innumerable 'sentences' with which the story is strewn, thoughtful observations embodying a great deal of practical wisdom that is not easily classified. The very first pages of the *Old Arcadia* yield an abundant crop. The Arcadians had found 'howe true a Contentation ys gotten by following the Course of Nature, And howe the shyning Title of glory somuche affected by other Nacions, dothe in deede help litle to the happines of lyfe'. Pamela and Philoclea were 'bothe so excellent in all those giftes wch are allotted to reasonable Creatures, as they seemed to bee borne for a sufficient proof that, Nature ys no Steppmother to that Sexe'. Basilius is stirred 'with the vanity wch possesseth many who (making a perpetuall mansion of this pore baiting place of mans lyfe) are desyerus to knowe the Certeinty of thinges to come, wherein there ys no thinge so certeyne as oure Continuall uncerteinty'. Philanax's speech on pages 4 and 5 is full of sage maxims; this one was inserted in the revised version: 'the God,

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[1]) *Eikonoklastes*, p. 327. An interesting parallel might be drawn between Sidney's prayer 'from the mouth of a heathen woman' and Bembo's famoes prayer to Love in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (Hoby's Translation, Everyman's Library, p. 321). Bembo, like Pamela, uses the terminology of Christian prayer in a way that must have equally roused Milton's indignation. 'Therefore vouchsafe (Lorde) to hearken to our prayers, pour thy selfe into our harts, and with the brightnesse of thy most holy fire lighten our darknesse, and like a trustie guide in this blinde mase shew us the right way: correct the falshood of the senses, and after long wandring in vanitie, give us the right and sound joy'. Sidney is reputed to have been an assiduous reader of *The Courtier*, and may well have taken a hint from it.

which is God of nature, doth never teach unnaturalnes'. (*Works*, I, 25, 18-19.) No mere selection can give an adequate idea of their variety.

He who wishes to study the revision of the *Arcadia* as a record of its author's mental development should be familiar with the course of his life, with his letters and other writings, and with the history of Europe in the latter half of the sixteenth century. To a reader so informed, numerous passages will shed valuable sidelights on Sidney's mind and character. If, therefore, the importance of the romance is now mainly historical, it is so in more than the negative sense of the term. Used with the caution demanded in interpreting any work of imagination, the *Arcadia* is a human document of no mean value.

# CHAPTER FOUR.

## THE STYLE OF THE TWO ARCADIAS.

### THE OLD ARCADIA — THE NEW ARCADIA — ORIGINS.

Comparatively little has hitherto been written about the style of the *Arcadia*. Lyly's novels having mainly absorbed the attention of students of sixteenth century prose in its formal aspects, the style of Sidney's romance has been somewhat perfunctorily treated as either a variety of Euphuism or an antidote. In so doing, criticism has no doubt taken the line of least resistance. Lyly's style, once its principles have been grasped, can be reduced to a simple formula with one or two corollaries; it consists chiefly in the continual repetition of a few uniform patterns. The style of the *Arcadia*, on the other hand, that of the revised version especially, shows no such uniformity. In the case of Euphues, a few dozen selected lines almost suffice to give a fair idea of the style of the whole; and, thanks to the investigations of Landmann and his successors in the study of Lyly, 'Euphuism' as the name of a stylistic category is now a term with a definite content. Sidney's style, like his story, seems to have baffled critics by its remarkable diversity, and any attempts thus far made to define it have been one-sided and inadequate.

### *The Old Arcadia.*

'ARCADIA amonge all the Provinces of *Grece* was ever had in singuler reputation'. Thus the opening clause of the original version. For taking the reader straight into the heart of the matter, it could scarcely be bettered. Like a musical theme, it is elaborated in the eighteen lines that follow; a stylistic analysis of their contents will be instructive. The habits of punctuation and capitalization of the different scribes somewhat obscure the

fact that the passage [1]) falls into four main divisions, viz. ll. 4-7 (Arcadia ..... people,) 7-14 (who, ..... quyett.), 14-16 (Thincking ..... so:), and 16-23 (Eeven ..... Conning.). The first and second divisions are linked up by the relative *who;* the second and third by the present participle *Thincking*. The third and fourth are not formally connected.

Within each division we find clauses arranged in parallel order. They are here printed in such a way as to bring out this structural principle. The opening clause is modified by two adjuncts:

....., partly for the sweetnes of ye Aire and other naturall benefittes:
But, principally, for the moderate & well tempered myndes of the people,

The second division consists of a principal clause (*who, ..... were the onely people,*) separated by a parenthesis and followed by an adjective clause which bifurcates as soon as it has begun. The parenthesis divides as follows:

(fynding { howe true a Contentation ys gotten by following the Course of Nature,
And howe the shyning Title of glory somuche affected by other Nacions, dothe in deede help litle to the happines of lyfe)

The adjective clause runs thus:

wch { as by theire Justice and providence, gave neyther Cause nor hope to theyre Neighboures to annoy them,
so were they not stirred with false prayse, to truble others quyett.

The parallelism within the first member (*Justice and providence ..... Cause nor hope*) will be noticed.

The third division is an amplification of the second, and, without offering a marked parallelism, falls into two halves with approximately the same number of syllables, the latter half consisting of two clauses of unequal length.

The fourth division opens with a principal clause (*Eeven ..... determinacõn*), qualified by two parallel adjuncts:

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[1]) See for the complete extract ch. II, p. 53.

by chosing that Contrie as theire cheefest reparing place,
and by bestowing theire perfections so largely there,

*So*, in the latter adjunct, correlates with *that* in the ensuing clause of result; and a further clause is tagged on by means of *so* ..... *as* ..... The latter terminates in a parallel:

content) { bothe to borrow theyre names,
and imitate theire Conning.

The passage here analysed provides a good specimen of Sidney's average narrative style in the *Old Arcadia*. It would be possible to print it as a separate paragraph, though the greater part of the original version could hardly be divided into paragraphs otherwise than arbitrarily. Within the 'paragraph' there is no clear-cut division into self-contained periods; most of the 'sentences' are linked up with their predecessors by conjunctive words, like *whiche, whome, where; but, for, and, neyther;* or by means of participles. It would scarcely be saying too much to conclude that in the *Arcadia* the stylistic unit is neither the sentence, nor the paragraph, but the Book or Act. Though far from amorphous, Sidney's style is, structurally, in a fairly primitive stage.

Apart from its imperfect articulation, the passage before us is remarkable for its parallelism. In this respect we are distantly reminded of *Euphues*. There is, indeed, nothing in the *Arcadia* like Lyly's deliberate elaboration and repetition of a number of stylistic patterns; yet most of the elements of Euphuism can be illustrated from Sidney's romance. The essential difference is that whereas in *Euphues* these patterns form the groundwork of the style throughout the book, in the *Old Arcadia* they appear as occasional ornaments upon a comparatively unsophisticated design.

A fragment like the following contains the chief ingredients of Euphuism:

to thinck { that in my miseryes, thow couldest ease my woes
as in my Careles times [1]) thow werte wonte to please my fancyes? (*Old Arcadia*, p. 89, ll. 22-24).

[1]) *Cl* erroneously writes *tunes*.

Here are two clauses of about the same length (*isocolon*), made up of corresponding elements (*parison*), with similarity of sound between two of these [*ease* — *please*] (*paromoion*) [1]). But whereas in *Euphues* these devices commonly occur together, in the *Arcadia* it is rare to find them combined like this; where they are used at all, they are mostly found singly.

Another important point about Sidney's use of rhetorical schemes is that the above quotation belongs, not to a narrative episode, but to a passage of lyrical prose in which Cleophila addresses her lute. Stylistic ornaments like those employed here may be instanced from any page in Lyly; Sidney reserves them for his flights of poetical prose. As a sample of the latter, the address to the lute may be reproduced; the word-schemes have been designated by special type.

'Alas pore Lute, howe muche, thow arte deceyved, to thinck *that in my miseryes, thow couldest ease my woes, as in my Careles times thow werte wonte to please my fancyes? The tyme ys chaunged,* my Lute, *the tyme ys Chaunged,* and no more did my *Joyfull* mynde, then, receyve *every thinge*, to a *joyfull* Consideracyon, then my *Carefull* mynde now makes *eche thinge* taste like the bitter *Joyce* [2]) of *Care. The evill ys inward,* my Lute, *the evell ys inwarde* whiche all thow doest doth [3]) serve(,) but to make mee thincke more freely of, and the *more* I *thincke*, the *more* Cause I fynde of *thinck***ing**, but *less* of hop**ing**: The *Discorde* of my thoughtes, my Lute, dothe yll agree to the *Concorde* of thy sweete stringes, therefore bee not asshamed to *leave* thy Master, synce hee ys not afrayde to *forsake* him self'.

Though a passage like this is not by any means unique, a wrong impression is often produced by critics detaching similar poetical fragments from their surroundings and presenting them as typical samples of what is called 'Arcadianism'. The latter term had better be avoided altogether, as it suggests a definite and consistent type of style, which is the very opposite of what we do find in the *Arcadia*.

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[1]) See *Euphues*, edited by Croll and Clemons (London—New-York 1916), Introd. p. XVI.

[2]) The Quarto reading (I, 147, 32) shows that *juyce* is meant; *Cl* probably used the spelling *Joyce* advisedly to correspond with *Joyfull*. *Bo* similarly has *ioice*: *Ph* corrupts this to *ioye*, *Qu* to *ioyste*; but even these corruptions show that *Cl* has the original word.

[3]) This word was omitted by the scribe of *Cl*; the Quarto supplies it

The degree of affinity between the style of Sidney's romance and that of *Euphues* belongs to the history of sixteenth century style generally. In this chapter no more than a descriptive account is attempted, which must form the necessary basis of any historical treatment. As the sources of Elizabethan prose style are admittedly to be traced largely to the precepts and practice of ancient and medieval rhetoric, the extent to which schemes and tropes are used in the *Arcadia* requires special attention [1]).

Among the figures of sound employed by Sidney one of the most prominent is that of repetition of the same word, or of the same stem with different prefixes or suffixes, within the same clause or sentence. It may be unobtrusive as in '..... a Contrie, where the *good* myndes of the former Princes had sett downe *good* Lawes .....' (*Old Arcadia,* p. 1, ll. 25-26) — or more pronounced, as in '..... desyerus to knowe the *Certeinty* of thinges to come, wherein there ys no thinge so *certeyne* as oure Continuall *uncerteinty*' (*ibid.,* p. 2, ll. 11-13). The figure also occurs in a transverse form: '..... *in vayne,* to desyer to *knowe* that, of whiche *in vayne* thow shalt bee sory after thow haste *knowne yt*' (*ibid.,* ll. 31-33); or: 'But *suche* was this *man,* and in *suche* a *man* had Basilius bene happy .....' (*ib.,* p. 3, ll. 3-4). An instance of inverse repetition may be found on p. 12, ll. 8-11: '..... and in such *Contemplacyons,* or as I thincke more excellent I enjoye my *solitarynes,* and my *solitarynes* perchaunce ys the Nurse of these *Contemplacyons*'. In some passages repetition runs riot. Such is the duel of repartee between Pyrocles and Musidorus on p. 20, where the word *measure* is repeated six times in as many lines, *ende(s)* occurring as often in the seven lines immediately following. On page 93 *desyer* is used four times in ll. 14-16, with *desyered* in l. 21. Similarly, on page 101, *desyer* occurs three times, and *desyerus* once, within four lines. A peculiar variety of this figure is that of climax or gradation, of which Sidney makes a sparing use in the *Old Arcadia.* There

[1]) I agree with T. K. Whipple (Isocrates and Euphuism, *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* vol. XI, 1916, p. 18) that '..... technical rhetoric ..... still affords the only means for the accurate definition of a prose style — at least of the sixteenth century'.

is an instance on page 44: 'And this Doubte framed a *Desyer* in her *to knowe*, and *desyer to knowe* brought forthe shortly suche a longing to enjoy .....'

Alliteration is by no means absent from the *Old Arcadia*, but in most of the passages where it occurs it is no more obtrusive than in many a piece of modern prose. In this respect, too, Sidney's style is very different from Lyly's. On page 3 we find: '..... rather for Confirmacõn of fancyes, then correcting of errors'; on page 18 'nor yet, dothe theyre *f*ayrenes take away theyre *f*orce'; on page 87 Gynecia leaves 'her *l*oathed *l*odging'. Most of the instances are of this simple description. Slightly more elaborate is the sentence on page 122 where we find alliteration together with word-repetition: '..... adding *fury* to *fury*, and encreasing *r*age with ronning.....' Occasionally, in an emotional passage, we come across alliteration combined with consonance and rime, as where Philanax inveighs against Pyrocles at the trial in the last Book: 'ys yt [1]) to bee imagined that Gynecia (a woman thowghe *wi*cked yet *wi*tty) woulde have *at*tempted and *at*chieved an enterpryse no less *h*azardus then *h*orrible without having some Counsellour [2]) in the beginn*ing* and some Comforter in the perform*ing* .....' (p. 361, ll. 21-25). An instance of simple and transverse alliteration in one sentence may be found on page 364, ll. 31-34: 'In thinges I say promoted with so cunning a Confusion, as having mingled truthes with falshoodes, *s*urmyses w$^{th}$ certeyntyes Causes of no *m*oment with *m*atters capitall .....'

Having discussed the principal schemes [3]) to be found in the *Old Arcadia*, it remains to say something on Sidney's employment of tropes [4]). In the purely narrative portions metaphors

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[1]) *Cl* erroneously writes *yt ys*.

[2]) *Cl* has the plural form.

[3]) Sporadic instances occur of other schemes, such as annomination (page 13, ll. 1-2: 'the *sowle* of this *soile*'), and paronomasia (page 362, ll. 5-7: 'Was all this play for no thinge? or yf yt had an *ende* (= aim), what *ende*? but the *ende* (= death) of my dere Master?').

[4]) On the distinction between *schemes* (figures of sound) and *tropes* (figures of thought) see Volkmann, *Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer* (Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft, II Band, 455-489). Also Croll's Introduction to *Euphues*, p. XV.

are but sparingly used. On page 2, Basilius is said to be possessed with the vanity of those who make 'a perpetuall mansion of this pore baiting place of mans lyfe'. It is in emotional passages, again, that the style becomes more highly metaphorical. The opening of Book II provides a curious contrast in this respect with the plain narrative at the beginning of Book I. 'In these Pastorall pastymes a great Nomber of dayes were sent [1]) to followe theyre flying Predecessors, while the Cupp of poyson w$^{ch}$ was deepely tasted of all this Noble Company had lefte no synew of theyres, withoute mortally searching into yt'. Philoclea upbraids Pyrocles in the following terms: '..... wilt thowe give my Sorowes no truce ..... Or ys thy harte so full of Rancoure, that thow doest desyer to feede thyne eyes, with the wretched spectackle of thyne overthrowne enemy? and so to satisfy the full measure of thy undeserved Rage with the receyving into thy sighte the unrelevable Ruyns of my desolate lyfe?' (*Old Arcadia*, p. 220, ll. 4-11). Musidorus, reproaching himself for having led Pamela into distress, exclaims: '..... my faythe falles oute a Treason unto yo$^{w}$, and the true honor I beare yo$^{w}$ ys the Feelde wherein youre Dishonor ys like to bee sowne'. (*ib.*, p. 290, ll. 29-31.) Examples of sustained metaphor are not lacking: 'Alas, Sorowe, now thow haste the full Sacke of my Conquered Spirites, rest thy self a while, and sett not still newe fyers to thyne owne Spoylles:' (p. 172, ll. 14-16).

A moderate use is made in the *Old Arcadia* of a device which figures very prominently in the revised version, viz. that of ascribing life and consciousness to inanimate things. Brie, who has devoted a study [2]) to this species of metaphor, calls it 'Poetische Beseelung'; and the English equivalent *animation* seems a more suitable term than the question-begging designation 'pathetic fallacy', which is sometimes used in discussions of Sidney's style [3]). The opening clause of Book II, already quoted, provides an instance; but typical of the *Arcadia* is the

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[1]) Thus *Qu* and *Bo. Cl* and *Ph* have *spent*.

[2]) Umfang und Ursprung der poetischen Beseelung in der englischen Renaissance bis zu Philip Sidney. *Englische Studien*, 50 (1916-'17), pp. 383-425.

[3]) E. g. in the *C. H. E. L.* III. p. 354.

employment of this trope in descriptions. The original version contains only a few specimens, such as the passage on page 12 in which Pyrocles extols the charms of Arcadia: 'Doo yow not see the grasse, howe in Coloure they excell the Emeraudes every one stryving to passe his fellowe, and yet they are all kept in an equall heighte? ..... Doo not these stately trees seeme to meynteyne theyre florisshing olde age with the onely happynes of theyre seate beeyng clothed with a Continuall springe, bycause no beauty here shoulde ever fade? ..... and these fressh and delightfull brookes, ho$^{w}$ slowly they slyde away, as, lothe to leave the Company of so many thinges united in perfection, and with how sweete a Murmer they lament theyre forc[ed] departure:' — Another instance occurs on page 42, like the former, a description of natural scenery. '..... came into the fayre Meadowe ..... throughe the middest of yt there ranne a sweete brooke, whiche did bothe holde the eye open w$^{th}$ her beutyfull streames, and close the eye with the sweete purling noyse yt made upon y$^{e}$ pible stones yt ranñ over. The Meadow yt self yeelding so liberally all sortes of flowers, that yt seemed to norish a Contention betuixt the Coloure and the smell, whether in his kynde were the more delightfull .....'

Croll, in his Introduction to Lyly's *Euphues* (p. XVII) points out that *antithesis,* often said to be the characteristic feature of Euphuism, is the worst possible figure to use for purposes of characterization on account of its ambiguity. It may be a figure of words, or sound, on the one hand, and a figure of thought on the other. In Lyly's use of it, antithesis is purely a 'scheme', that is, a figure of the arrangement of words for an effect of sound. Our last quotation from the *Old Arcadia* shows that Sidney also used it as a 'trope'; the brook holds the eye open with her beautiful streams, and closes it with the sweet purling noise it makes; the flowers seem to nourish a contention between the colour and the smell. The constant analysis of an idea into two opposite elements is a prominent feature of the Arcadian style.

Where two seeming contradictories are found conjoined, sometimes with antithesis of sound, but usually without, we

have oxymoron. 'O unkynde [1]) kyndenes of myne w^ch returnes [2]) an Imagined wronge with an effectuall Injury? O folly, to make quarrells my Supplications, or to use hate as the Mediator of Love?' (p. 222, ll. 15-18.) Or again: 'Some caughte holde of Spittes, thinges servisable for y^e lyves of men, to bee the Instrumentes of theyre Deathes,' (p. 122, ll. 5-7).

Of 'Euphuism' in the opprobrious sense in which it was used by contemporary critics, viz. Lyly's use of fabulous natural history, the *Old Arcadia* is entirely free. Perhaps there is a solitary instance on page 173: 'The savagest Beastes are wonne w^th service, and there ys no Flinte but may bee mollifyed' (ll. 11-13); if so, it is certainly inconspicuous. Classical allusions are rather more frequent, though nothing like so numerous as they are in Lyly's work. '*Bacchus* (they say) was begotten with Thunder, I thinck that made hym ever synce so full of sturr, and debate, *Bacchus* in deede yt was w^ch sounded the first Trompett to [3]) this rude Allarum', (p. 120, ll. 20-23) — thus the account of the origin of the rebellion. Dametas' disappointment on finding that his treasure hunt was only a fool's errand is compared to Midas' experience (p. 247, ll. 25-27); on page 219 Pyrocles, before entering Philoclea's chamber is 'blowne up and downe with asmany contrary passyons (as *Æolus* sent oute wyndes uppon the *Troyan* Reliques guyded uppon the Sea by the valyant *Æneas)*'. These instances could be added to, but the reader is by no means tripped up by them.

More striking, if not more frequent, are Sidney's similes from every-day life, some of which may have come from personal observation. Sometimes a comparison is evoked for the moment, without being insisted upon, as in this example: 'yet after some pawse, lifting up his eyes a litle from the grounde, and yet not daring to place them in the face of *Musidorus,* armed with the Countenaunce of the pore Prisoner at the barr whose answer ys no thing but guilty, with muche adoo hee brought forthe this question' (p. 14, ll. 25-30). Somewhat more elaborated is this one from p. 17/18: '*Pyrocles* mynde was all this while so fixed

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[1]) *Cl* writes *unkyndenes.*

[2]) *Cl* writes *turnes.*

[3]) *Cl* has *of.*

uppon an other Devotion, that, hee no more attentively marcked his frendes discourse, then the Chylde, that hathe leave to play, marckes the last parte of his Lesson, or the diligent Pylott in a daungerus tempest, doth attend to the unskillfull words of the [1]) passinger'. Pyrocles turning the tables on Musidorus when the latter, too, has fallen a victim to love, humorously inquires: 'Why, howe now Dere Cossen ..... yow that were even now so highe in the pullpett, ageanst Love, are you now become so meane an Auditor?' (p. 38, ll. 15-18). The lawcourt, the church and the schoolroom provide the author with telling illustrations; here is another of the latter class: 'Alas (saide *Dorus* with a chaunged Countenaunce) the Cruell Schoole master makes the silly Chylde thincke a litle play greate sporte, and howe muche the more wee neede greate help, smalle help, seemes the greater unto us:' (p. 162, ll. 29-33). Perhaps the best of this kind is the one on page 288, where one of the outlaws who have surprised Musidorus and Pamela on their flight from Basilius 'sett his Dagger to her Alablaster throate, swearing yf hee threwe not away his sworde hee woulde presently kill her. There was never pore Scholler that having in steade of his Booke some playing Toy aboute hym did more sodenly Cast yt from hym, at [2]) the Chylde feared presence of a Crewell Schoole Master, then the valourus *Musidorus* dischardged hym self of his onely Defence when hee sawe yt stoode uppon the instant poynte of his Ladyes Lyfe:' (ll. 15-22).

In conclusion, though this takes us almost beyond the limits of purely stylistic analysis, attention should be called to the innumerable sententious maxims with which the text is inlaid. Like the comparisons, some are less explicit than others; but in one form or another, they leaven the whole romance. There is hardly a page in the book that does not contain a goodly batch of them. Not infrequently, too, they are elaborated into philosophic observations, such as the remarks on the constancy that befits the virtuous man with which Musidorus opens his harangue to Pyrocles (page 10, ll. 19-28); but these belong rather to the chapter on thought than to that on style.

[1]) *Cl* omits *words of the*.

[2]) *Cl* erroneously has *as*.

*The New Arcadia.*

After this brief survey of the stylistic peculiarities of the *Old Arcadia*, we may now turn to the revision. Some of our parallel extracts in chapter II afford a glimpse of Sidney's way of dealing with the original in point of style. Not content with elaborating the matter of his romance, he applied himself assiduously to the perfection — as he understood it — of its manner. The result marks a considerable advance on the *Old Arcadia* in subtlety and self-consciousness. Though there is little in the style of the revised version that is not actually or potentially present in the first draft, most of the stylistic effects are heightened, and the diversity of style has become even greater than it was before.

Among the alterations Sidney made in those portions of the original text that he mainly transferred to the new, there is much to praise. Several of these make for greater point and terseness, and for a more closely knit articulation of many a loosely constructed period. To the specimens given in chapter II the following may be added:

| *Old Arcadia*<br>P. 108, ll. 19-23. | *New Arcadia*<br>P. 253, ll. 12-16. |
|---|---|
| But *as Love, thoughe yt be a passyon, hathe in yt self a very active maner of working,* so had shee in her brayne all sortes of Inventyon, by whiche shee might come to some satisfaction of yt: But still *the combersome Company of her twoo yll matched Lovers was a crewed barr* unto yt. till ..... | then returne again to her inward thoughts; somtimes despaire darkning all her imaginations, sometimes *the active passion of Love* cheering and cleering her invention, *how to unbar that combersome hinderance of her two ill-matched lovers.* But ..... |

The greater concision of the italicized phrases in the right-hand column will be noted. There is a similar gain in directness in Philoclea's words to Pyrocles as modified in the revised version:

| *Old Arcadia*<br>P. 116, ll. 11-14. | *New Arcadia*<br>P. 260, l. 40—p. 261, l. 2. |
|---|---|
| synce from the steppes of *vertue* my sowle ys witness to yt self yt never hathe, and pledge to yt self yt never shall declyne no way to make mee leave to Love the, but by making mee thincke thy Love un*worthy* of mee. | Thy *vertue* wan me; with vertue preserve me. Doost thou love me? beloved.<br>keepe me then still *worthy* to be |

In other instances, the style of a passage has been improved by varying the monotony produced by the over-frequent repetition of the same word or form. In the first interview between Basilius and Cleophila on pp. 31-32 of the *Old Arcadia*, *said* is used five times running, followed by *answered* — *said* — *answered*, and again *said* eight times in succession. In the revision this chain is broken up as follows: *said* (twice) — *replied* — *said* (four times) — *answered* — *said* (three times) — *answered* — *said* (twice). A detail like this shows how Sidney carefully went over his whole text, amending it wherever he could. Another sample may be found on page 39, ll. 32-34 of the *Old Arcadia*, where we read: 'as withoute doubte the moste servile flatery ys moste easily lodged in the moste grosse Capacity'. This clumsy sentence becomes: 'as without doubt the most servile flatterie is lodged most easilie in the grossest capacitie' (*New Arcadia*, p. 117, ll. 3-4).

Frequently, too, we find a word or phrase of the original replaced by another, not with a view to compression or for the sake of diversity, but because the substitute expresses the author's thought more neatly. In the first draft, page 115, line 19, Philocles is '*astonished* with a surfett of Joy'. The revised version (p. 260, l. 7) aptly replaces *astonished* by *sicke*. Somewhat similarly, where the *Old Arcadia*, p. 44, ll. 35-37, has: 'And even thancke that beuty, saide Cleophila, *w^ch forceth all noble swordes to bee redy to serve yt*', the *New Arcadia* (p. 121, ll. 7-8), for the italicized words, reads: '*which can give an edge to the bluntest swordes*'. Instances of such improvements occur on many pages of the revised version.

Perhaps a better way to realize Sidney's progress as a stylist

between the first and the second *Arcadia* is to read the opening pages of the Fifth Book as printed in the 1593 Folio (Feuillerat's edition, vol. II, page 145 ff.). As has been said in our first chapter, up to page 149, line 14, the text is the same as in the manuscripts; at this point begins an interpolation of nearly four pages, constituting Sidney's revision of a passage of half this length in the mss. At the top of page 153 the thread of the original story is resumed.

The style of the revised episode shows a marked improvement upon its surroundings. It is free from the involved periods which characterize large portions of the original narrative. In the Folio, the Fifth Book opens with a 'sentence' of nineteen lines, before we come to a full stop, though the Clifford ms. has another full stop about half-way down. Only a few lines beyond where the revised fragment terminates, we come upon a twelve-line period again. But apart from such statistics, the style of the interpolation is more brisk and effective than that of the quantity of loose writing that precedes and follows it. It would deserve a place in any anthology of sixteenth century prose.

This is not to say that the difference in style between the two versions is all to the good. Both in the passages adapted from the first draft and in those newly written there are many innovations which in the light of the subsequent development of English prose cannot be called improvements. These consist chiefly in the over-elaboration of stylistic devices already made use of in the *Old Arcadia,* but applied there with greater moderation. Schemes and tropes had been employed for emphasis or ornament in the original version; in the *New Arcadia* they show such a marked increase in force and frequency that in many passages the contents become subordinate to the glitter and ingenuity of the style.

This feature of the later version is well exemplified in the opening of the First Book. Whereas the first *Arcadia* leads off with a plain, if undeveloped, narrative style, the second begins with three pages of highly coloured poetical prose. Sidney is felicitous in his opening sentences. That of the *Old Arcadia* is straightforward and to the purpose, like the story it ushers in;

that of the *New* with equal surety strikes the key-note of the revision: 'It was in the time that the earth begins to put on her new aparrel against the approch of her lover .....' There is a kind of sensuous indolence about its easy flow, and its very circumlocution prepares us for a tale of ample leisure.

After these and a few more introductory lines, the overture of the revised version consists of two parallel pieces of declamation, an impassioned speech by 'the hopelesse shepheard Strephon', followed by a response from 'the pastor Claius'. The former regretfully praises the beauty of Urania; the latter in neo-platonic fashion extols her virtues. Through both runs the motif of the personification of Remembrance: 'hether we are now come to pay the rent, for which we are so called unto by over-busie Remembrance' ..... 'did Remembrance graunt us any holiday ..... but that still it forced our thoughts to worke upō this place' ..... 'Wel then, Remembraunce commaunded, we obeyed .....' And in Claius' response: '..... the court of affection, held by that racking steward, Remembraunce'. Other rhetorical figures are employed in rich profusion. Animation is aptly used in: 'But when she was imbarked, did you not marke how the windes whistled, & the seas daunst for joy, how the sailes did swel with pride, and all because they had Urania?' — and rather less so in 'the verie horse (me thought) bewayled to be so disburdned'. There is word-repetition, as in '..... over-busie Remembrance, Remembrance, restlesse Remembrance.....'; combined with paronomasia in '..... where we last (alas that the word last should so long last) .....' [1]). Inverse repetition is used in '..... as our remembrance came ever cloathed unto us in the forme of this place, so this place gives newe heate to the feaver of our languishing remembrance'; and in the peculiar form of 'the sweetest fairenesse and fairest sweetnesse'. There is an elaborate climax in: 'No, no, let us thinke with consideration, and consider with acknowledging, and acknowledge with admiration, and admire with love, and love with joy in the midst of all woes:'. There are parallel clauses with ingenious cross-

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[1]) Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, III, II, 206-207:

'..... at last, if promise last,
I got a promise of this fair one here .....'

patterns as '..... that our poore eyes were so inriched as to behold, and our low hearts so exalted as to love .....' The five lines in which Strephon describes the occupations of the shepherds amidst their flocks contain nearly forty sibilants. In brief, all the resources of rhetoric are directed to the production of a purple patch.

This lavish use of rhetorical colours distinguishes many passages in the *New Arcadia* from the corresponding portions of the original. In his *London Mercury* article [1]) Mario Praz has collected a number of telling illustrations of what he calls the 'process of stucco decoration' to which the first draft has been subjected. His list of parallels could easily be added to. In the Plangus and Erona episode in the *Old Arcadia,* Otaves 'spared not man, woman nor Chylde, but with miserable tortures slewe them' (vol. IV, p. 64, ll. 8-9). In the revised version this has become: '..... but (as though there could be found no foile to set foorth the extremitie of his Love, but extremity of hatred) wrote (as it were) the sonets of his Love, in the bloud, & tuned thẽ in the cries of her subjects' (vol. I, p. 233, ll. 19-23). In the original, Philoclea's bashfulness is expressed by the words: '..... with blusshing Cheekes, and eyes cast downe to the grounde shee began to say .....' (p. 113, ll. 30-31). The *New Arcadia* has: '..... with eyes, cheekes, and lippes, (whereof each sange their parte, to make up the harmonie of bashfulnesse) began to say .....' (p. 257, ll. 35-37). 'Cleophila ..... Desyered her to stay her sweete speeche .....' (*O. A.*, p. 113, ll. 33-35) becomes 'Zelmane ..... humbly besought her to keepe her speach for a while within the Paradise of her minde' (*N. A.*, p. 258, ll. 1-5). At page 114, ll. 35-36, the plain sentence 'My sute ys to serve yow, and my ende ys to doo yow Honor', was cancelled to make room for the following sustained metaphor: 'the same *Pyrocles,* who (you heard) was betrayed by being put in a ship, which being burned, *Pyrocles* was drowned. O most true presage: for these traytors, my eyes, putting me in a shippe of Desire, which dayly burneth, those eyes (I say) which betraied me, will never leave till they have drowned me. But be

[1]) See above, p. 19.

not, be not, (most excellent Lady) you that Nature hath made to be the Load-starre of comfort, be not the Rocke of shipwracke; you whome vertue hath made the Princesse of felicitie, be not the minister of ruine: you, whom my choyse hath made the Goddesse of my safetie, O let not, let not, from you be powred upon me destruction' (*N. A.*, p. 259, ll. 9-19).

A great many of these conceits are based on the device of poetic animation. Instead of '..... the fayre Philoclea scarcely then stayed from her feare .....' (*O. A.*, p. 44, ll. 26-27), the *New Arcadia* has: '..... feare having such possessiō in the faire Philoclea, that her bloud durst not yet to come to her face, to take away the name of palenesse from her most pure whitenes' (p. 120, ll. 37-39). On the same page 'the blood coming ageane to her Cheekes pale before for feare' (ll. 33-34) is replaced by 'then blushing, for feare had bequeathed his roome to his kinsman bashfulnes' (*N. A.*, p. 121, ll. 4-6). An epitome of this and cognate figures is presented by the episode on pages 191—194 of the revised version, describing a sea-voyage, a tempest, and the ensuing shipwreck. The sea showed 'so smooth and smiling a face, as if Neptune has as then learned falsely to fawne on Princes'. The navy is 'like a beautifull flocke, which so well could obey their maisters pipe'. The ships are 'mooving houses'. 'And (ô Lord) to see the admirable power & noble effects of Love, whereby the seeming insensible Loadstone, with a secret beauty (holding the spirit of iron in it) can draw that hard-harted thing unto it, and (like a vertuous mistresse) not onely make it bow it selfe, but with it make it aspire to so high a Love, as of the heavenly Poles; and thereby to bring foorth the noblest deeds, that the children of the Earth can boast of'. Eventually the ship carrying the two princes runs upon a rock, 'which hidden with those outragious waves, did, as it were, closely dissemble his cruel mind'.

The foregoing extracts constitute a few items from the debit side of Sidney's account; though his contemporaries regarded them in a different light. Harleian MS. 4604 in the British Museum contains a treatise by John Hoskins, entitled 'Direccōns for Speech and Style ..... Conteyninge all the figures of

Rhetorick ..... The Quotatiõns being taken out of S$^{r}$. Philip Sidneys Arcadia the first edition in quarto w$^{th}$out Samfords Additions' [1]). The 'Directions' were written for the benefit of a pupil of the author's, whom he wished to initiate into the mysteries of rhetoric. For this purpose he used the *Arcadia* as a textbook, specially marking metaphors and other figures in the margin of a copy of the 1590 Quarto [2]). Hoskins had been a student of style all his life: 'I have used and outworne 6 severall styles, since I was first fellowe of newe Colledge, and am yet able to beare the fashion of writing Companie'. It is surely a testimony to the esteem in which the *Arcadia* was held to see this competent judge refer to it as the fittest model to put into a young student's hands. And it is very instructive to find him uphold for imitation some of the very embellishments which a modern critic would be most likely to fall foul of. 'Besydes a Metaphor is pleasant because it enricheth our knowledge w$^{th}$ two thinges at once w$^{th}$ the truth and w$^{th}$ simillitude as this, Heades disinherited of their naturall Seignioryes, wherby we understand both beheading, and the goverm$^{t}$ of the head over the body, as the heire hath over the Lordship w$^{ch}$ hee inheriteth'. 'Allegory' (i.e. 'the continuall followinge of a Metaphor') 'is the best flower growing most plentifully in all *Arcadia*'. 'Antimetabole, cõmutatio verborũ manente sensu, is a sentence, inversed or turned backe as if any for love of honor or honor of love ..... Our learned knight skipt often into this figure'. The very 'jingle' which Praz holds up to scorn, 'exceedingly exceeding that exceedingnes' (see Feuillerat, vol. I, p. 479) is recommended by Hoskins under the heading of 'Poliptoton or Traductio ..... a repeticõn of wordes of the same lynage, that differ only in Termination' [Follows the example just quoted.] 'This is a good figure, and may be used, with or without passion, but soe as the use of it come from some Choice and not from Barrennesse'.

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[1]) I owe the reference to Wallace, *Life of Sidney*, p. 234, n. 3. The *Directions* must have been composed between 1593 and 1603.

[2]) 'and in nomber of places in your booke w$^{ch}$ are all noted w$^{th}$ this letter (m:) in the margent'. 'Allegories', i. e. sustained metaphors, were marked (M).

One of the stylistic features of the *Arcadia* with which modern taste is decidedly out of tune is Sidney's love of circumlocution. We come across instances in the original version, as where 'founde her self robbed of *her chastity*' is paraphrased by 'of that shee had layed in store, as her dearest Jewell' (vol. IV, p. 286, ll. 7-8); and it runs riot in the revised text. Hoskins discusses it under *Periphrasis:* 'Insteed of, Mopsa wept illfavouredly, [Sidney writes] Mopsa disgraced weeping with her Countenance; Insteed of saying they that guarded Amphialus, were killed themselves, it is said, seeking to save him they lost their fortresses which nature placed them in, etc. .....*and this of purpose did hee write to keepe his style from basenes*'.

The italicized words supply the key to the sixteenth century view of these artifices which we nowadays regard as stale and unprofitable. As Richard Sherry expressed it in a treatise written half a century before Hoskins's: 'A scheme is the fashion of a word, sayyng or sentence, *otherwyse wrytten* or *spoken then after the vulgar and comon usage*. A trope is a movynge and changynge of a worde or sentence, from thyr owne significacion into another which may agree with it by a similitude' [1]). That the *Arcadia* was 'otherwyse wrytten then after the vulgar and comon usage' was the very thing that endeared it to the cultured readers of the age of Elizabeth.

It is not, however, necessary to read the *Arcadia* with Elizabethan eyes to discover in it passages and episodes with a definite survival value in point of style. In the first place, Sidney frequently managed to apply his rhetorical colours to such effect that they appeal to the aesthetic sense of the twentieth century no less than to that of his own day. Surely a sustained metaphor like the following is unexceptionable: '..... and by the good order of *Euarchus* ..... they were so brought up, that all the s p a r k e s of vertue, which nature had k i n d l e d in thē, were so b l o w n e to give forth their uttermost h e a t e that justly it may be affirmed, they e n f l a m e d the affections of

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[1]) Quoted in Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*, p. 58.

all that knew thẽ (vol. I, p. 189, ll. 28-32). Animation is used to excellent effect in: 'As they past in a pleasant valley, (of either side of which high hils lifted up their beetle-browes, as if they would over looke the pleasantnes of their under-prospect)' (*ib.*, p. 63, ll. 25-27); and equally so in 'But how delightfull soever it was, my delight might well be in my soule, but it never went to looke out of the window to doo him any comfort' (*ib.*, p. 180, ll. 1-3). Sometimes a specimen of animation in the *Old Arcadia* has been improved upon. When Pyrocles hears his cousin mention the word 'Lovers', 'there was not one part of his body, that did not feele a sodeyne motion, the harte drawyng unto yt self the lyfe of every parte to help yt distressed with the sounde of that worde' (vol. IV, p. 14, ll. 22-25). The latter metaphor is replaced by: 'while his hart with panting, seemed to daunce to the sounde of that word' (vol. I, p. 59, ll. 1-2). And that Sidney's puns are not always far-fetched is proved by the lines substituted for *Old Arcadia*, 40, 19-22 [1]): 'Dametas, that of all manners of stile could best conceive of *golden* eloquence, being withall tickled by Musidorus prayses, had his brayne so turned .....' (*New Arcadia*, 118, 19-21).

What is more important, however, is that there are several chapters in the revised version with hardly more 'Arcadianism' or 'Euphuism' in their style than is to be found in any modern novel. This moderation in the use of figures is especially noticeable in some of the narrated episodes, such as the first part of the story of Plangus (vol. I, pp. 242—251), and the accounts of the knight-errantry of the two princes in Book Two, chapters 18-24. A passage like the following is strangely at variance with prevalent notions of 'Arcadian' style:

> She caused that same minister of hers to go unto *Plãgus*, & (enabling his words with great shew of faith, & endearing them with desire of secresie) to tell him, that he found his ruine conspired by his stepmother, with certain of the noble men of that coũtry, the King himselfe giving his consent, and that few daies should passe, before the putting it in practize: with all discovering the very truth indeed, with what cunning his stepmother had

[1]) 'Dametas, no sooner sawe the golde, but that his harte was presently infected with the self conceipte hee tooke of yt, whiche beeyng helped by the tickling of Musidorus prayses, so turned y^e^ braine of good Dametas .....'

proceeded. This agreing with *Plangus* his owne opiniō. made him give him the better credit: yet not so far, as to flie out of his country (according to the naughty fellowes persuasion) but to attend, and to see further. Wherupon the fellow (by the direction of his mistresse) told him one day, that the same night, about one of the clocke, the King had appointed to have his wife, & those noble mē together, to deliberate of their manner of proceeding against *Plangus:* & therfore offered him, that if himselfe would agree, he would bring him into a place where he should heare all that passed; & so have the more reason both to himselfe, and to the world, to seeke his safetie. The poore *Plāgus* (being subject to that only disadvantage of honest harts, credulitie) was perswaded by him: & arming himself (because of his late going) was closely conveied into the place appointed. In the meane time his stepmother making all her gestures cunningly counterfait a miserable afflictiō, she lay almost groveling on the flower of her chāber, not suffering any body to comfort her; untill they calling for her husband, and he held of with long enquiry, at length, she told him (even almost crying out every word) that she was wery of her life, since she was brought to that plunge, either to conceale her husbāds murther, or accuse her sonne, who had ever bene more deare, then a sonne unto her. Then with many interruptions and exclamations she told him, that her sonne *Plangus* (solliciting her in the old affection betweene them) had besought her to put her helping hand to the death of the King; assuring her, that though all the lawes in the world were against it, he would marrie her when he were King. [Vol. I, p. 248, l. 19—p. 249, l.13.]

It is in descriptive passages that Sidney is as a rule most lavish in his use of animation and other figures; yet the following specimen is practically free from them:

But *Amphialus* (taking of his mother *Philocleas* knives, which he kept as a relique, since she had worne them) gat up, and calling for his richest apparell, nothing seemed sumptuous inough for his mistresses eyes: and that which was costly, he feared were not daintie: and though the invention were delicat, he misdoubted the making. As carefull he was too of the colour; lest if gay, he might seeme to glorie in his injury, and her wrong; if mourning, it might strike some evill presage unto her of her fortune. At length he tooke a garment more rich then glaring, the ground being black velvet, richly embrodered with great pearle, & precious stones, but they set so among certaine tuffes of cypres, that the cypres was like blacke clowds, through which the starrs might yeeld a darke luster. About his necke he ware a brode & gorgeous coller; whereof the pieces enterchangeably answering; the one was of Diamonds and pearle, set with a white enamell, so as by the cunning of the workman it seemed like a shining ice, and the other piece being of Rubies, and Opalles, had a fierie glistring, which he thought pictured the two passions of Feare and Desire, wherein he

was enchayned. His hurt (not yet fully well) made him a little halt, but he strave to give the best grace he could unto his halting. [Vol. I, p. 367, ll. 5-26.]

Lastly, as a sample of argumentative style, the conclusion of Pamela's reply to Cecropia:

This worlde therefore cannot otherwise consist but by a minde of Wisedome, whiche governes it, which whether you wil allow to be the Creator thereof, as undoubtedly he is, or the soule and governour thereof, most certaine it is that whether he governe all, or make all, his power is above either his creatures, or his governement. And if his power be above all thinges, then consequently it must needes be infinite, since there is nothing above it to limit it. For beyond which there is nothing, must needes be boundlesse, and infinite: if his power be infinite, then likewise must his knowledge be infinite: for else there should be an infinite proportion of power which he shoulde not know how to use; the unsensiblenesse whereof I thinke even you can conceave: and if infinite, then must nothing, no not the estate of flies (which you with so unsaverie skorne did jest at) be unknowne unto him. For if it were, then there were his knowledge bounded, and so not infinite: if knowledge and power be infinite, then must needs his goodnesse and justice march in the same rancke: for infinitenes of power, & knowledge, without like measure of goodnesse, must necessarily bring foorth destruction and ruine, and not ornament and preservation. Since then there is a God, and an all-knowing God, so as he sees into the darkest of all naturall secretes, which is the harte of Man; and sees therein the deepest dissembled thoughts, nay sees the thoughts before they be thought: since he is just to exercise his might, and mightie to performe his justice, assure thy selfe, most wicked woman (that hast so plaguily a corrupted minde, as thou canst not keepe thy sickenesse to thy selfe, but must most wickedly infect others) assure thy selfe, I say, (for what I say dependes of everlasting and unremooveable causes) that the time will come, when thou shalt knowe that power by feeling it, when thou shalt see his wisedome in the manifesting thy ougly shamefulnesse [1]), and shalt onely perceive him to have bene a Creator in thy destruction. [Vol. I, p. 410, ll. 7-40.]

The varieties of style exhibited in these extracts are not held up as models of construction and lucidity, no more than that of the opening page of the *Old Arcadia* quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The specimens given will, however, bear out our conclusion that it is wrong to identify the style of the *Arcadia*

[1]) Thus the Folios. The Quarto reads *shamelesnesse*.

with that of certain highly coloured passages. In the revised version Sidney no more confined himself to the use of one uniform type of style than he did to the treatment of one single subject. The complexity of his plot is reflected in the diversity of his ways of writing. The *New Arcadia* handles many various themes and in nearly every case its author contrives to suit the style to the matter. Bolton's advice to him 'who would pen our Affairs in *English*' might have been readily endorsed by Sidney himself: 'The *Arcadia* of Sr *Philip Sidney* is most famous for rich Conceit and Splendour of Courtly Expressions, warily to be used by an Historian, whose style should have gloss and lustre, but otherwise rather Solidity and Fluency then Singularity of Oratorial or Poetical Notions' [1]). He would probably have pointed out to the author of *Hypercritica* that in those portions of the *Arcadia* which approach most nearly to historical writing he himself had often used a style remarkable rather for 'Solidity and Fluency then Singularity of Oratorial or Poetical Notions'.

## *Origins.*

Though the question of the origins of Sidney's style lies beyond the scope of this study, a brief summary of the views hitherto expressed may be allowed to anticipate our concluding chapter. Not that there is much to summarize; as already observed, compared with Euphuism proper, the style of the *Arcadia* has received but step-motherly treatment. Landmann, who traced Lyly's style to the influence of Guevara, thought he could discover a prototype of Sidney's in the work of another Spaniard, the *Diana* of Montemayor [2]). On the other hand, T. P. Harrison Jr., who has recently studied the relations between the *Arcadia* and *Diana* [3]), categorically declares: 'Concerning Sidney's prose style, there is nothing attributable to the Spanish pastorals'.

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[1]) Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, I, p. 107.

[2]) See his edition of *Euphues* and the first chapter of *Arcadia* (Heilbronn, 1887), Introduction, p. XXXI.

[3]) *University of Texas Studies in English*, nr. 6 (1926) A Source of Sidney's *Arcadia*. (p. 58, n. 14.)

Landmann's view of the Spanish origin of Lyly's style was superseded by that of Norden and Feuillerat, who claimed direct influence of the rhetoric of Cicero and Isocrates. Something similar has happened in Sidney's case, several peculiarities of 'Arcadianism' being traced back to Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus by Wolff in his book on the Greek Romances. Wolff's verdict [1]) in its turn is quashed by Harrison who qualifies it as 'an example of his gross exaggeration of Greek influence'. A closer parallel to Norden's theory will no doubt be found in Brie's forthcoming study of the style and technique of the *Arcadia*. Like Sidney's thought, his way of writing will probably be shown to be in the direct line of descent from the literature of the classical period. In his book on the *Arcadia*, Brie has already given earnest of this view. One of Sidney's aims was the introduction of a new kind of prose whose style should be adapted to the contents by means of definite rhetorical and poetical devices. In the public speeches of the *Arcadia* he attempted to put the art of classic eloquence before his countrymen in the same pleasant form of which he availed himself for the enunciation of his moral and didactic ideas (pp. 176, 177). In spite of his use of Greek authors, Sidney was undoubtedly more dependent on the Latins, first of all on Cicero (pp. 186, 187).

Norden and Feuillerat's theory has not proved the last word on the subject of Euphuism. In an article in the *Modern Language Review* for 1916 [2]), an American student, T. K. Whipple, questioned the evidence presented for Isocrates' direct influence on the style of Lyly and his predecessors, and maintained that, so far from being a contributary cause, it ran counter to the current taste for schemes and tropes. This negative criticism was

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[1]) In fairness to Wolff, it should be stated that though he traces the 'prevailing characteristics' of Sidney's style to those of late Greek romance, he is one of the few who are aware of its diversity. 'Compounded of many ingredients, Sidney's style varies from page to page. Sometimes it is touched with Euphuism, sometimes with Petrarchism, sometimes with the Catalogue, Summary, and Splitting Constructions of late Latin rhetoric. Sometimes it has lovely cadences of its own'. (*Greek Romances*, p. 354).

[2]) Isocrates and Euphuism. *M. L. R.*, Vol. XI, pp. 15-27, 129-135.

supplemented by an investigation of a more positive character by Mr. Whipple's teacher, Professor Morris W. Croll, who, in his Introduction to the modernized edition of *Euphues* already referred to, advanced the thesis that 'Euphuism is not the product of humanistic imitation of the ancients', but 'a survival of the "rhetoric of the schools"'; in fact, that it consisted in the systematic use of 'the *schemata* of medieval Latin, revivified by being translated into the popular speech' (l. c. p. lxiv).

The persistence of medieval ways of thought and style far into the period of the so-called 'Renaissance' is claiming the attention of historians on both sides of the Atlantic to an increasing extent. It would not be surprising if in the case of the *Arcadia*, too, any over-emphasizing of direct classical influence were to call forth the protests of medievalists. At any rate, if scholars find it difficult to agree over the sources of Euphuism, the far more complex style of the *Arcadia* may well make any agreement as to its origins an impossibility for many years to come. The following tentative remarks made by Professor Croll in a letter dated February 1929 would therefore seem a fitting conclusion to this part of our enquiry:

'I think it would be unfortunate to identify Euphuism and Arcadianism by one name, though both are products of the excessive rhetoricism of the 16th century. Euphuism is an English version of the 'schematic' style used in medieval Latin oratory from its beginning and taught in the church schools. It is made up out of the simplest kinds of oratorical figure. Arcadianism is much less simple. Its form is not oratorical, but romantic, narrative, 'pathetic' and complex. It is sensuous, highly-colored, elaborately patterned. As to its origins I have studied rather hard with little result; but I think that it has some relation to the style of late medieval romances in prose, such, for instance, as the Guy of Warwick romances, the Spanish romances by Feliciano da Sylva, and other Spanish romances burlesqued in Don Quixote. That it is in this tradition seems to be indicated by the fact that some of the early 17th-century French romances closely resemble it in style, though they are of course never quite so ornate'.

# CHAPTER FIVE.

## THE SOURCES OF THE TWO ARCADIAS.

John Hoskins, from whose 'Direccõns for Speech and Style' we quoted in our previous chapter, on folio 22 of his manuscript makes one of the earliest statements concerning the sources of the *Arcadia*. '..... for the webb (as it were) of his storie hee followed three Heliodorus in greeke, Sanazarus Arcadia in Itallian, and Diana de Montemaior in spanish.' Wallace, who, in his *Life of Sidney* (p. 235) also quotes this sentence, comments: 'Later study of the question has confirmed and elaborated Hoskins' analysis.'

Unlike Sidney's style, his sources have received frequent and mostly adequate treatment. Within the last forty years several scholars have traced the origins of the *Arcadia* either as a whole or in part, so that the extent of Sidney's indebtedness to his predecessors may be regarded as mainly settled. There is room for additions to our knowledge, or even for divergences of opinion, on minor points, but it seems hardly likely that further investigation will produce any material results.

One of the first, and at the same time best pieces of research in this field has unfortunately never appeared in print. It is a ms. thesis 'presented for honors in Modern Literature' by the late American poet William Vaughn Moody. His essay, entitled *An Inquiry into the Sources of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia* was awarded the Sohier Prize in 1894, and deposited in Harvard College Library in the same year. Through the kindness of the Harvard Librarian I have been enabled to examine its contents. To the three sources pointed out by Hoskins Moody adds the romance of *Amadis de Gaule*. His treatment of the subject is scholarly and to the point and refreshingly free from that tendency to over-emphasis which often vitiates studies of 'influence'.

The next contribution is K. Brunhuber's *Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia und ihre Nachläufer*, Nürnberg, 1903. The former half

of the booklet is devoted to a series of somewhat sketchy remarks on Sidney's various sources; the latter deals with dramatisations of episodes from the *Arcadia*, and lies outside our present scope.

Sidney's indebtedness to the Greek romances of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius has been thoroughly dealt with by S. L. Wolff, whose study of *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction* has been often referred to in previous chapters.

Friedrich Brie, who, as we have seen, postulates classical sources for the *Arcadia* whenever at all possible, nevertheless devotes a number of pages to each of those dealt with by Moody, to whose essay he had, of course, no access. Affinities with other authors, ancient and modern, are also suggested, if not always convincingly demonstrated.

In his *Manly* paper referred to in ch. II Greenlaw has studied one special detail, viz. the influence of the Lucretian philosophy upon Pamela's refutation of atheism. Montemayor's contribution has been once more, this time, it seems, definitively, investigated by T. P. Harrison Jr. in the *University of Texas Studies in English*, 1926. A somewhat superfluous book on *L'Arcadia de Sidney dans ses rapports avec l'Arcadia de Sannazaro et la "Diana" de Montemayor* by Hector Genouy (Paris, 1928) closes the list.

By way of rounding off our study of the two *Arcadias*, we will here present an outline of the principal results arrived at by these writers. Perhaps the best plan will be to follow Moody's analysis, supplementing it from the others when necessary.

As regards Sannazaro, Moody points out that Sidney's debt to the Italian *Arcadia* has been over-estimated. A superficial comparison between the two romances at once reveals the vast difference between the studied simplicity of the pure pastoral, and the composite character of the English work. To Sannazaro the latter probably owes its title, and the idea of alternating verse and prose; though these points are not expressly stated by Moody. He sums up the relation between the two works thus: 'In spite of this general lack of resemblance, however, there are some signs in Sidney's work of the interest with which he

had read Sannazaro's beautiful pastoral'. They consist in the first place of a few verbal reminiscences, including a direct translation of three lines from Sannazaro's eighth Eclogue, and an imitation in verse (Zelmane's song on the beauty of Philoclea) of the description of a fair shepherdess in the Italian's fourth Prose. Brie (p. 234) adds another parallel, whereas Brunhuber (p. 11) compares Sidney's description of a statue of Venus with that of a painted vase in Sannazaro, which he regards as Sidney's *only* borrowing. Genouy attempts to add to the number of these parallels, but his suggestions do not carry conviction.

In the second place, 'in twelve out of seventy-nine poems included in the Arcadia, Sidney imitates metres or metrical structures used by Sannazaro'. Some of these are common to all Italian lyrists of the time, but in one or two cases it seems likely that Sidney's verse form was immediately modelled on Sannazaro's. Brie (p. 232) goes far beyond Moody in holding that nearly all Sidney's metres are copied from Sannazaro's Eclogues. Genouy (p. 185) is of the same opinion.

With the exception of Brie, who, when he wrote his book, had read Dobell's *Quarterly Review* article, these students of Sannazaro's influence knew only the revised version of Sidney's work; for Genouy, whose book is dated 1928, ignores Feuillerat's edition of the *Old Arcadia*. If the above represents Sidney's entire obligation in the later form of the romance, the obvious inference is that for the earlier he probably borrowed even less. But this conclusion is wrong. As Brie points out (p. 272 f.) the episode in the Fourth Eclogues of the *Old Arcadia* in which Philisides recounts his life story, and which was suppressed in the Folios [1]), is evidently modelled upon Sannazaro's account in his Seventh Prose. The resemblance between the two passages is such as to teach us to be cautious before taking the details of Philisides' narrative as strictly autobiographical [2]).

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[1]) See our ch. III, p. 159.

[2]) The point is not without its bearing on the question of the autobiographic value of the *Astrophel and Stella* sonnets, though this is not the place to enter into that problem.

If, therefore, Sannazaro's influence upon the English *Arcadia* is fairly small, that of the *Diana* of Montemayor has been shown to be more considerable. Here, however, the problem is complicated by the fact that both Sidney and Montemayor evidently borrowed from the Greek romances, and that it is not always easy to decide whether Sidney derived his materials from this latter source at first or at second hand. If we are to believe Wolff, the *Arcadia* is but Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius anglicized: 'Sidney has deliberately written Greek Romance in English' (p. 365); 'Sidney has domesticated the *genre*' (p. 366). Harrison, however, observes that 'In the *New Arcadia* the influence of the Greek Romances would tend to overshadow that of the *Diana* did not the Spanish work reflect the same influence' (l. c. p. 56). 'As Sidney knew intimately both sources, his primary employment of the Greek is to be questioned where parallels are afforded in the nearer romances of Spain, which he had already employed in his earlier attempt'. (p. 58—59). Harrison mentions a few such parallels, adding that 'the probable, though not final, conclusion is that Sidney discovered them in the *Diana*' (p. 64). The possibility of borrowing at second hand is even suggested for certain traits which Sidney is usually supposed to owe to the *Amadis* (p. 65).

Apart from these considerations, the relation between the *Diana* and the (New) *Arcadia* has been well defined by Moody. 'The outline of the romance, it will be seen, bears no resemblance to the main plot of the Arcadia, nor do the separate stories resemble in any marked particular those with which Sidney wove the complex web of his romance. Never the less the general effect of the two, taken as wholes, is similar. There are in both the same perplexing interlacement of tale with tale, the same confusions of identity owing to the disguises and the abrupt changes of rôle indulged in by the principal personages; and above all the same strange jumble of anachronisms, of true and false geography, of pagan mythology and Christian worship, of nymphs and court-ladies, satyrs, knights, and giants, which make the Arcadia one of the strangest pieces of fiction ever written in an enlightened age. It was the making of this grotesque

tapestry which Sidney learned from Montemayor; for before him the forms of pastoral composition had been of the simplest'.

Moody is silent on the resemblance between the opening of the *Diana* and that of the revised *Arcadia,* which has been pointed out by almost every other writer on the subject. As early as 1882, Landmann, in a paper read before the New Shakspere Society [1]) gave the two passages side by side, the one from Montemayor in Yong's translation. It is not necessary to suppose that Moody had overlooked the point; he may have thought the likeness merely superficial. There is nothing, in fact, in Montemayor's passage of the neo-Platonism that characterizes Sidney's; the latter's description of spring and the sustained metaphor of 'that racking steward, Remembrance' are likewise without equivalents, though Montemayor's passage does contain an apostrophe to memory. The description of the shepherds amidst their flocks is more elaborate than in *Diana;* and poetic animation in the passage from the Spanish does not go beyond 'cheerful springtyde (the merry messenger of sommer)', 'cruell love', and the personification of fortune, nature and memory. Stylistically the two passages produce quite a different effect, notwithstanding Landmann's assertion to the contrary [2]). All the same, it would, perhaps, be rash to deny Montemayor's influence on the opening of the *New Arcadia* altogether.

Among the parallels adduced by Harrison, some occur in the original *Arcadia,* others in the revised version only. The latter seems to show the greater indebtedness to the *Diana* on account of its complicated structure, though on the other hand the *Old Arcadia,* with its preponderance of the pastoral element over the chivalric, 'bears closer resemblance to the *Diana* than does the revision' (Harrison, p. 55). We may assume that Sidney knew Montemayor's romance when he wrote his original story, and continued to make use of the *Diana* while recasting the *Arcadia* into its definitive form.

'Truly I have knowne men, that even with reading *Amadis de gaule,* which God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect *Poesie,*

[1]) *Transactions* 1880—1885, Part II, p. 273—275.

[2]) See the Introduction (p. XXXI) to his edition of *Euphues* and the first chapter of the (New) *Arcadia* (Heilbronn, 1887).

have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage'. In this sentence from the *Defence of Poesie* [1]) we have Sidney's explicit avowal [2]) that he had read that most famous among the later romances of chivalry, *Amadis de Gaule*. It is strange that Hoskins should have overlooked this source, in which Moody found 'the main plot of the Arcadia, together with many of the most striking episodes, amounting in bulk to about one third of the whole work'. Nor is this a case of at best doubtful parallels. Sidney has helped himself to liberal slices from the romance of Lobeira and his continuators, for the *Old Arcadia* as well as for the *New*. As regards the former, Book XI of *Amadis* tells us 'Comme le Prince Agesilan s'enamoura de Diane, par la seule veue de son ymage. Et du conseil que dom Arlanges d'Espagne son compagnon luy donna' (Chap. 15). In pursuance of this advice, Agesilan, like his companion, dons female attire, and in this way gains admission to the lady of his heart. With this episode Sidney has combined another which he found in chapters 83—85 of the same Book, and which tells how Agesilan, under the name of Daraïde, arrives at the court of Galdap, where both the king and queen fall in love with him-her, in the same way as Basilius and Gynecia both become enamoured of Pyrocles-Zelmane. It is interesting to see how Sidney modified the story from *Amadis*. Basilius doting on Zelmane is sufficiently far gone in craziness; but his prototype, the king of Galdap, like Basilius 'au parauant tressage Prince', falls a victim to the 'Dieu d'amour' to such extent 'que son sens se troubla & se mit à faire tant de folies & grimaces hideuses qu'on l'enferma en vne chambre'. Similarly, Gynecia's advances to Pyrocles are modesty itself when compared to the importunities with which Daraïde is pursued by the Queen of Galdap. In adapting this episode to his own purposes, Sidney practised that characteristic English literary virtue, reticence.

[1]) Feuillerat, *Works*, vol. III, p. 20.

[2]) Sannazaro is mentioned twice in the *Defence;* Montemayor is not, but we have external evidence of Sidney's knowledge of the *Diana* in his translation of two poems found, with others, at the end of the Clifford ms., and printed in the 1598 Folio. Heliodorus is mentioned in the *Defence* (*ib.*, p. 10).

Many of the chivalric episodes of the *New Arcadia* have their prototypes in some chapter of *Amadis*. 'The meeting of Palladius and Clitophon with the coach in which Helen, queen of Corinth, sits gazing at the picture of Amphialus held before her by her waiting-women (Book I), the battle of Pyrocles with the giant of the mountain (Book II), and their imprisonment in the island castle of Amphialus (Book III), are all paralleled in the first four books of *Amadis*'. Moody also points out that the episode in which Phalantus appears at the lodge of Basilius and is met in battle by Zelmane [1]), is modelled on a similar incident in the eleventh Book of *Amadis*, where Agesilan is living in disguise at the court of queen Sidonie. Sidney has worked up the incident in the most elaborate style of mediaeval romance.

Brunhuber has added a few items to this list of borrowings, one of the most important of which, the scene where Pyrocles comes upon a number of women torturing a man tied to a tree, has already been mentioned in our third chapter. He also suggests that the name Cleophila may have been borrowed from that of a queen in *Amadis* (X chap. 15, XI, chap. 4 ff.), and that Sidney formed the name Philoclea by transposition, rather than the other way round.

As regards the influence of the Greek romances, the essential thing has again been said by Moody. 'They (the correspondences) consist for the most part in three particulars; in the involved structure of the two works, in the prominence given to spectacles and ceremonial display, and in the superabundance of melodramatic incident'.

For more precise information we turn to Wolff's elaborate monograph. What makes his enquiry specially valuable for our purpose is the circumstance that he was in a position to read the Clifford and Ashburnham MSS. of the *Old Arcadia*, which had reached America by the time he wrote his book. Thus we get an exact exposition of the amount of Greek influence on either version.

We can do no more here than present Wolff's conclusions as briefly as may be. After a detailed analysis of the *Arcadia*,

[1]) Cf. our ch. II, p. 106.

occupying some forty-five pages of small print, he summarizes the plot as follows:

'Reduced to lowest terms, the "Arcadia" amounts to this: Having received a paradoxical oracle, a king endeavors to prevent its accomplishment; nevertheless the oracle is accomplished, and under circumstances issuing in the following catastrophe: at a public spectacular trial, a father not knowing his own son condemns him to death; the son's identity is declared by a *deus ex machina* who arrives just in time; women's chastity is vindicated; and the conclusion is a double marriage of princely lovers, the vicissitudes of whose Fortune have been so ordered by Providence as to unite them at last. It is evident that we have here the grandiose Heliodorean framework. The attribution to Greek Romance is confirmed by detailed examination of several *motifs* and incidents of this plot, as well as several of its episodes'. (pp. 307—308.)

The next twenty pages are devoted to this detailed examination, due allowance being made for Sidney's borrowings of material from the *Amadis*.

'Such is the plot of the "Arcadia". Its material, — *motif*, situation, incident, episode — comes chiefly from the "Amadis" and the Greek Romances; the material it gets from the former being fitted into the frame of the latter'. (p. 328.)

Wolff does not omit to point out where Sidney departs from his Greek models, as in his conception of Fortune (p. 326 ff.). Characterization in the *Arcadia*, he declares, is but slightly indebted, and humour in the *Arcadia* not indebted at all, to the Greek Romances (p. 334). On the other hand, in Sidney's 'employment of setting, or descriptive background', such as the description of Kalander's garden, pavilion, and paintings, Wolff, as we have seen [1]), traces the influence of Achilles Tatius. Sidney has furthermore acquired from Heliodorus what Wolff calls the trick of 'pathetic optics' — the habit 'of describing persons, objects and actions by means of the impression they make upon some observer' (p. 177). This feature is much in evidence in the spectacular trial scene toward the close of the *Old Arcadia*.

The author next proceeds to show how, in recasting the

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[1]) Ch. III, p. 138.

*Arcadia*, Sidney, after borrowing narrative material from the Greek romances, also adopted Heliodorus's narrative method, or structure. This leads to a statement of the principal facts regarding the original version, followed by a classification of the processes by which Sidney turned the *Old Arcadia* into the *New* [Augmentation — Combination or Merger — Complication — Suspence — (Chronological) Inversion]. In Wolff's opinion, the revision consists in the 're-weaving the Old Arcadia upon the loom of Heliodorus' (p. 353). 'Sidney has learned to write Greek Romance in English' (*ibid.*). He finally seeks to drive his point home by a consideration of Sidney's style.

Of the four sources discussed here, the pastorals of Sannazaro and Montemayor, which are generally held to be the direct prototypes of Sidney's *Arcadia*, appear to have contributed comparatively little to the make-up of the romance in either of its forms. The *Amadis* supplied an abundance of narrative material; so did the Greek Romances. The influence of the latter in respect of structural method was, in all probability, exercised partly through the intermediary of the *Diana*, and is especially noticeable in the *New Arcadia*. For the rest, Sidney's indebtedness to each of his models, as far as it goes, can be demonstrated for either version.

It stands to reason that parallels to other authors besides those dealt with by Moody can be, and have been, pointed out. Brunhuber suggests that certain names in the *Arcadia* were borrowed from Vergil or Terence; Brie has ransacked several other ancient writers for reminiscences. Sidney was a man of very wide reading, and one may expect to find traces of this in his writings. Provided the study of sources does not degenerate into a game of source hunting, it forms an indispensable adjunct to any comprehensive examination of an author's work. For the comparison of the two *Arcadias*, however, it is of mainly secondary importance. The principal source of the romance in the form in which Sidney ever intended it to be published at all is his own original version.

# CONCLUSION.

At the end of our survey it remains to attempt an answer to the question what induced Sidney to recast a story that he had at first considered to be no better than 'a trifle, and that triflingie handled'. According to one critic [1]), the proceeding argues a lack of humour, and is an instance of almost unparalleled perversion. Whatever one may think of this verdict — we have endeavoured in the foregoing pages to present evidence to the contrary — it leaves the point at issue unexplained. Certain other of those who have written on the *Arcadia* have overshot their mark by explaining too much. Between the two extremes, a middle way will have to be found.

Sidney's motive in revising the romance was probably the same that made him compose the original version. He needed an outlet for his fancies and ideas, and he found he continued to need it when the last page of the *Old Arcadia* was completed. In the *Defence of Poesie* and in *Astrophel and Stella* he had given, or was about to give, expression to a single train of thought in a definite literary form. By the side of these, he required a medium of a more fluid and less rigorously circumscribed character for the expression of the rich profusion of his mind and imagination. Of the literary species then available, the romance was the most suitable to his purpose. He might have composed a new romance; Drummond [2]) has recorded a floating tradition that 'S. P. Sidney had ane intention to have transformed all his Arcadia to the stories of king Arthur'. Actually, he decided to rewrite his already finished *Arcadia*.

The object of this study has been to show that the undertaking was, on the whole, justified of its results. The revised version shows an unmistakable advance in literary skill and sheds valuable sidelights on the mental growth of its author.

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[1]) Mario Praz, l. c.

[2]) *Conversations of Ben Jonson and William Drummond of Hawthornden, 1619.* See Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, I 210.

The modern objection to its complicated structure was not shared by contemporary readers.

We do not think any amount of criticism and comment will restore the *Arcadia* to the place it once held in popular estimation. But the re-emergence of the romance in its earliest form should give it a fresh claim to the attention of literary historians. Feuillerat's edition of the *Old Arcadia* has brought the original version within reach; his reprint of the *editio princeps* of the revised form once more offers an authentic text, hitherto accessible only in Sommer's limited edition, and for the first time supplies a list of variant readings. The publication of a critical text of either version is, perhaps, hardly to be looked for in the near future. A Sidney anthology, with parallel extracts from the two *Arcadias* selected so as to provide a more than merely textual interest, is all that seems at present attainable.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[The following is an annotated list of books and articles devoted wholly or in part to Sidney's *Arcadia*. Some attempt at completeness has been made only for the last fifty years or so. The inclusion of seventeenth and eighteenth century allusions would have swelled the list to inordinate proportions, and would, after all, have been foreign to our purpose of providing a critical bibliography of the *Arcadia*, as distinct from a study of its fame and after-fame.]

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ABRAHAM FRAUNCE, The Arcadian Rhetorike. [1588.]

See our ch. I, pp. 3, 15. For the full title, with a summary and extracts, see Gregory Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, I, pp. 303—306.

JOHN HOSKINS, Direccõns For Speech and Style. To Pronounce, Penne Letters, Vary, Amplify, Illustrate, Otherwise then ever any preceptes have taught. Conteyninge all the figures of Rhetorick and the Art of the best English exemplyfyed eyther all out of Arcadia w$^{ch}$ it Censureth or by Instances. The matter whereof may Benefitt Conversation. The Quotacõns being taken out of S$^{r}$. Phillip Sidneys Arcadia the first edition in quarto w$^{th}$out Samfords Additions. [British Museum, Harleian MS. 4604. Pp. 49.]

See our ch. IV, p. 180—182, and ch. V, p. 189. From internal evidence I conclude that the Directions were written some time between 1593 and 1603.

SIR FULKE GREVILLE's Life of Sir Philip Sidney etc. First published 1652. With an Introduction by Nowell Smith. Pp. XXV + 279. Tudor and Stuart Library. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907.

See our ch. III, p. 121.

Aphorisms of Sir Philip Sidney; with Remarks, by Miss PORTER (Author of Thaddeus of Warsaw.) Two Volumes. Pp. 222 & 225. London, Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807.

Jane Porter, novelist, uses quotations from the *Arcadia* and other works by Sidney as texts for little homilies on Man, Birth, Education and Study, Reason and Wisdom, etc. etc. A curious testimony to Sidney's influence as a thinker.

ANON., Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. *The Retrospective Review*, Vol. II, Part I. London: Charles and Henry Baldwyn, Newgate Street. 1820. Pp. 1—44.

A grandiloquent eulogy of Sidney and the *Arcadia*. Useless, except as a document for the history of Sidney's reputation. A great many extracts from the *Arcadia* are given. The following may serve as specimens: 'The language of the 'Arcadia' is, indeed, as much superior to that of the 'Euphues', as is the varied melody of the nightingale to the monstrous harshness of the jay'. 'Ever absent from *us, and from our pages*, be that ungenerous and ungentlemanlike spirit of criticism, which could induce *us* to speak coldly of the character of Falkland, or disdainfully of the genius of Sidney'. [On the italicized words, see note on James Crossley (1853).]

SAINT-MARC GIRARDIN, Cours de Littérature Dramatique ou de l'Usage des Passions dans le Drame. Tome III. Paris, Charpentier, 1855. [First edition, 1843.]

Chapter XLVI contains a discussion of the *Arcadia* which is among the best of what has been written on the subject. The author praises Sidney for his handling of the episode of the princess-page Zelmane (see our ch. II, p. 111—112), and for his analysis of the loves of Pamela and Philoclea. 'Ce progrès, insensible à la fois et irrésistible, de l'amour dans le cœur de Philoclée, est observé et dépeint par Sydney de la manière la plus ingénieuse' (p. 278). Girardin's remarks on the other aspects of the romance are also worth reading. 'Le guerrier et le politique se mêlent sans cesse au romancier' (p. 281). Sidney's rejection of 'ce merveilleux grotesque si cher aux Italiens et aux Espagnols' is rightly qualified as 'un pas fait vers la vraisemblance et un nouveau signe du passage de la pastorale au roman' (p. 285).

JAMES CROSSLEY, Sir Philip Sidney and the Arcadia. Pp. 85. London, Chapman and Hall, 1853.

This is an almost literal reprint of the anonymous article in the Retrospective Review mentioned above. In the concluding sentence 'from *us, and from our pages*' has been replaced by 'from *the literature of our*

*own day, and indeed from that of any epoch'*, and *any one* has been substituted for *us*. Query: Was Crossley the writer of the article, or was his book a piece of mere plagiarism? The former seems the more likely supposition; but why was any indication of the booklet being a reprint omitted in 1853?

WILLIAM STIGANT, Essay on Sidney. Cambridge Essays for 1858.

Referred to in Child, John Lyly and Euphuism, and elsewhere. I have not seen this essay.

ELIZA WEST, Shakespearian Parallelisms, chiefly illustrative of the Tempest and A Midsummer Night's Dream, Collected from Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. [Privately printed.] 1865.

Too general to be of any use.

The Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia*. Written by Sir Philip Sidney, Knt. With notes and introductory essay by HAIN FRISWELL. London, 1867.

An abridged and modernized edition. The eclogues have been omitted, only a few specimens being given, 'long episodes of no possible use to the book, which we think have been supplied by other hands than Sidney's, have, whilst using their very words and phrases, been cut down'. A specimen of what the editor calls 'pruning': 'Hard by was a house of pleasure, adorned with delightful pictures, which Kalander described (!), and then, sometimes casting his eyes to the pictures, thus spake: — "This country Arcadia, ....." (p. 17; cf. Feuillerat, vol. I, p. 18, and our ch. II, pp. 56—57, III, p. 137 ff.)

R. F. WEYMOUTH, On Euphuism. Transactions of the Philological Society, 1870-2. Part III, pp. 1—17.

One of the first serious attempts to define the Euphuistic style. Sidney's *Arcadia* is referred to on pp. 11—12.

FRIEDRICH LANDMANN, Der Euphuismus, sein Wesen, seine Quelle, seine Geschichte. Beitrag zur Geschichte der englischen Literatur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Pp. 111. Diss. Giessen, 1881.

In this epoch-making dissertation Landmann first stated his view of the origin of Euphuism, which he repeated and elaborated in the two publications mentioned below. The *Arcadia* is discussed on pp. 92—94 and 102.

FRIEDRICH LANDMANN, Shakspere and Euphuism. *Euphues* an adaptation from Guevara. The New Shakspere Society's Tranactions, 1880-5. Part. II. Pp. 241—276.

Landmann devotes a few remarks to the style of the *Arcadia*, which he erroneously states to have been published in 1588. Instead of giving an illustrative quotation from Sidney himself, he prints an extract from John Dickenson's *Arisbas Euphues* (1594) as a specimen of 'the exaggeration of the Arcadian's taste'. In the Notes, the beginning of Montemayor's *Diana*, in Yong's translation, and that of the *New Arcadia* are printed in parallel columns (see our ch. V, p. 193).

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS, Sir Philip Sidney. English Men of Letters. Pp. 205. London, Macmillan, 1886; reprinted 1909.

Both as biography and as literary criticism, the book is now partly antiquated. The analysis of the *Arcadia* is inexact, the remarks on Sidney's sources and style are largely gratuitous; even the text of the extracts is unreliable. If another edition should ever be called for, every chapter ought to be thoroughly overhauled.

*Euphues*. The Anatomy of Wit. By John Lyly M. A. To which is added the first chapter of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Dr. FRIEDRICH LANDMANN. Pp. XXXII + 150. Heilbronn, 1887.

The Introduction concludes with some remarks on the *Arcadia*. Landmann rightly observes that 'The elements of style in Sidney's *Arcadia* are different from those of Euphuism', but he is on less sure ground when he declares of the beginning of the *Arcadia* and of Montemayor's *Diana* that 'the style is the same in both'.

The text of the title, prefaces, and first chapter of the *Arcadia* has been reprinted from the 1590 Quarto.

EMIL KOEPPEL, Zur textkritik von Sir Philip Sidney's gedichten. *Anglia* X, 1888, pp. 522—532.

See our ch. I, p. 3, n. 3.

Dr. EWALD FLÜGEL, Sir Philip Sidney. Halle, Niemeyer, 1888. Habilitationsschrift.

'Die vorliegende Abhandlung bildet die Einleitung einer demnächst im gleichen Verlage erscheinenden kritischen Ausgabe von Sir Philip Sidney's „Astrophel und Stella" und „Defence of Poesie".

Eine Ausgabe des biographischen Apparates wird, so weit derselbe aus Mss. geschöpft ist, ebenfalls zum Drucke vorbereitet'.

The critical edition referred to is the next item in our list; the publication promised in the second paragraph I have been unable to discover.

Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* und *Defence of Poesie* nach den ältesten Ausgaben mit einer Einleitung über Sidney's Leben und Werke herausgegeben von Dr. EWALD FLÜGEL. Pp. CI + 112. Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer, 1889.

The Introduction is very valuable for the study of Sidney's life and works. Molineux's paragraph on the *Arcadia* (see our ch. I, pp. 1—2) is reproduced in the Appendix.

[H. FRANK HEATH, Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia and its Sources. Dissertation, Strassburg, June, 1890.

This dissertation is mentioned by Sommer in a note to the Preface of his facsimile edition of the *Arcadia* (April, 1891) as 'shortly to be published' in the 'Quellen und Forschungen'. My enquiries after this work remaining fruitless, I at last succeeded in getting into touch with Mr. (now Sir) H. Frank Heath, London, who informed me that he had abandoned his original design of recasting and enlarging his essay, and that it had never been published at all. To my request for permission to see the original dissertation, I received no reply. This note is inserted here to save others the trouble of fruitless research.]

The Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia*, written by Sir Philip Sidney, Knt. The original Quarto edition (1590) in photographic facsimile, with a bibliographical introduction. Edited by H. OSKAR SOMMER, Ph. D. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1891. [Edition limited to 300 copies.]

The editor has added a bibliographical introduction (pp. 1—45), with full particulars of the various editions of the *Arcadia*, including a cursory comparison of the Quarto with the 1598 Folio. Sommer is not always reliable in details; and he reproduces Fulke Greville's letter to Walsingham (see our ch. I, p. 2) in a mutilated form.

H. R. FOX BOURNE, Sir Philip Sidney, Type of English Chivalry in the Elizabethan Age. 'Heroes of the Nations' Series. Pp. 384. Putnam, 1891.

Partly a recast of the same author's *Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1862, which I have not seen. It is now superseded by Wallace's biography mentioned below.

A Cabinet of Gems, cut and polished by Sir Philip Sidney. Now for the more radiance presented without their setting by GEORGE MACDONALD. Pp. 204. Elizabethan Library, 1892.

Bodleian Library Catalogue. I have not seen this book.

ALBERT S. COOK, Sidney and Giordano Bruno. Modern Language Notes, VIII, March 1893.

The question whether Sidney was influenced by Bruno having been answered in the negative by Beyers, Shakespeare Jahrbuch XXVI (1891), p. 271, Cook, in a letter to the editors of the M. L. N., refers to his own edition of Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* for the opposite view. Wallace, *Life*, p. 301, writes: 'It is generally agreed that in his works there is no trace of Bruno's influence'. Brie does not even mention Bruno. I have not seen Oliver Elton, Giordano Bruno in England, *Modern Studies*, London 1907, described by Wallace as 'the fullest and best account of Bruno's visit to England'.

CLARENCE GRIFFIN CHILD, John Lyly and Euphuism. Pp. XII + 123. Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie, VII. Erlangen & Leipzig, 1894.

A useful survey of the study of Euphuism down to the year of publication, with valuable contributions of its own. Lyly's style is frequently compared with Sidney's.

EDITH MORLEY, The Works of Sir Philip Sidney. University College, London. The Quain Essay, 1901. London, Hugh Rees Ltd. 124 Pall Mall, S. W. 1901. Pp. 60. One shilling Net. [Out of Print.]

An excellent little book, now unfortunately unobtainable. 'However, the Arcadia is important to the student of literature for many reasons. It marks a distinct stage in the growth of the English novel; it successfully blends the pastoral and romance elements; for the first time since Chaucer it handles incidents in a dramatic way; its characters are passionate and living men and women; and, finally, it is written in a prose style which found imitators until Defoe showed that it is possible to tell a story in direct and simple language, without useless circumlocutions, images and inversions. Indeed Sidney's influence on literature has been mainly exerted by means of this "vain, amatorious poem".'

LUDWIG WENDELSTEIN, Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Euphuismus. Pp. 89. Diss. Halle-Wittenberg, 1902.

Though not concerned with the *Arcadia*, Wendelstein's dissertation is mentioned here as an important contribution to the history of sixteenth-century style.

K. BRUNHUBER, Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia und ihre Nachläufer. Literarhistorische Studie. Pp. VI + 55. Nürnberg, M. Edelmann, 1903.

A collection of notes rather than a book. See our ch. V, p. 189 ff.

J. J. JUSSERAND, Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais. — De la Renaissance à la Guerre Civile. Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1904.

Pp. 462—469 deal with the *Arcadia*, in which 'l'amour ..... est le grand mobile des actions'. On the 'allegorical' aspect of the romance Jusserand is extremely sceptical. 'L'intérêt de cette assertion est de montrer combien on se préoccupait encore de l'utile; Brooke, écrivant après coup, tient à faire attribuer à son ami ce mérite si important. Quant à Sidney lui-même, il disait négligemment n'avoir écrit que pour soulager son cerveau de trop de fantaisies dont il était plein: le mieux est de le croire'. (p. 463.) Jusserand had previously dealt with the *Arcadia* in his book 'Le Roman Anglais au temps de Shakespeare' (1887, Engl. tr. 1890); see our ch. II, p. 89.

SIDNEY LEE, Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century. Pp. I—XXVI, 27—382. London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1904; new edition 1907.

Sidney is dealt with on pp. 95—152. The account of the *Arcadia*, like other points of the essay, is unreliable.

N. F. W. SINNING, Cupid's Revenge von Beaumont und Fletcher und Sidney's Arcadia. Diss. Halle-Wittenberg, 1905.

Mentioned in the Bodleian Library Catalogue. I have not seen this dissertation.

WALTER W. GREG, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama. A Literary Inquiry, with special reference to the Pre-Restoration stage in England. Pp. XII + 464. London, A. H. Bullen, 1906.

Pp. 147—154 deal with Sidney's *Arcadia*, which Greg describes as 'perhaps the most famous' 'of the books which everybody knows and nobody reads' (p. 147). 'A critical edition remains, however, a desideratum' (p. 151, n. 2). On pp. 319 ff. Greg gives an account of seven plays founded on the *Arcadia*.

The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. By Sir Philip Sidney. With the additions of Sir William Alexander and Richard Beling, a Life of the Author, and an Introduction by ERNEST

A. BAKER. London, Routledge. (Introduction signed Jan. 1907.)

The modernized text, which is very faulty, is based on a Dublin edition of 1739. The most valuable part of the Introduction consists of a series of quotations concerning the *Arcadia* taken from early writers.

ROBERT T. KERLIN, Scott's Ivanhoe and Sydney's Arcadia. *Modern Language Notes,* XXII, 1907, 144—146.

Notes correspondences between the two romances under four heads: I The Tournaments; II. The Capture and Imprisonment; III. The Siege; IV. Miscellaneous Points. Most of Kerlin's parallels are convincing; curiously, however, though we may assume that Scott had actually read the *Arcadia,* the point is never mentioned!

The subject of Scott's indebtedness to Sidney was also dealt with by S. L. Wolff, in a paper read before the M. L. A. A., Dec. 1910 (see a report in the (New York) *Nation,* Jan. 5, 1911). The *Nation* for Jan. 19, 1911 contains a letter by H. N. MacCracken to say that the burning of Torquilstone was borrowed, not, as Wolff had suggested, from the *Arcadia,* but from Barbour's *Bruce* (IV, 85—158); and that Kerlin in the M. L. N. had anticipated most of Wolff's parallels. On Febr. 2, Wolff replies that he had heard of Kerlin's article only after reading his paper before the M. L. A. A. He further states, quite correctly, that Kerlin's article considers internal evidence only, whereas he (W.) had also dealt with external evidence, e. g. Scott's possession of a copy of the *Arcadia* which he had examined at Abbotsford the previous summer.

HERBERT WYNFORD HILL, Sidney's Arcadia and the Elizabethan Drama. University of Nevada Studies, Vol. I, No. 1, 1908. Pp. 59.

Written before Dobell's *Quarterly Review* article, and therefore sometimes wrong, but a useful study, though largely derivative. After a synopsis of the story, the author deals briefly with the sources of the plot, the style and structure of the *Arcadia,* the influences which moulded Sidney's style, and the popularity of the *Arcadia.* Part II deals with the influence of the *Arcadia* on the Elizabethan Drama.

*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Vol. III, Ch. XVI. Elizabethan Prose Fiction. By J. W. H. ATKINS. First edition, 1908; new impression, 1918.

The *(New) Arcadia* is dealt with on pp. 351—355. The treatment is, on the whole, adequate, though it is inexact to say that Sidney's 'vision did not include either the ludicrous or the grotesque' (p. 353; cf. our ch. III, pp. 148—149). The new impression ignores the discovery of the *Old Arcadia* altogether. The Bibliography is of a somewhat haphazard description. See also our remarks in ch. II, p. 47.

BERTRAM DOBELL, New Light on Sidney's 'Arcadia'. *Quarterly Review*, No. 420, July 1909. Pp. 74—100.

Frequently cited in this book; see especially pp. 4, 6, 29, 31, 34, 45, 117, 118.

PERCY ADDLESHAW, Sir Philip Sidney. London, Methuen, 1909.

As a biography of limited value, as literary criticism of none. The latter may be gauged from the following specimen: 'Euphues doubtless suggested Arcadia, and Arcadia, a result of conscientious imitation, is decidedly tedious'. His account of the Elizabethan age is marred by a somewhat peevish emphasis on the quarrels and cruelties of the day. With respect to Sidney himself, A. is anxious to call attention to his shortcomings, and to make the most of what he considers S.'s narrow-mindedness and bigotry in matters of religion. Another drawback is the almost entire absence of references for citations; 'a German scholar' or 'a recent historian' is all we get.

AGNES WURMB, Die deutsche Uebersetzung von Sidneys Arcadia (1629 und 1638) und Opitz' Verhältnis dazu. Pp. 63. Diss. Heidelberg, 1911.

A thorough piece of research. Perhaps the only criticism to be made is that the author read the *Arcadia* in Baker's modernized (and faulty) reprint, instead of using an early edition, or Sommer's facsimile. The conclusion arrived at is that the first German translation of the *Arcadia* (1629) was done from the worst of the two French translations published in 1624—'25, and that Opitz's revised edition (1638) differs from its predecessor mainly by his avoidance of foreign words and by a better verse technique; which agrees with Opitz's literary programme.

SAMUEL LEE WOLFF, The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction. Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature. Pp. 529. New York, Columbia University Press, 1912.

Frequently cited in this book; see especially pp. 46, 51, 138, 142, 187, 190 ff. Also Tieje's review mentioned below.

The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney. Edited by ALBERT FEUILLERAT. In Four Volumes. Vol. I, First Edition 1912, Reprinted 1922. Vol. II, 1922. Vol. III, 1923. Vol. IV, 1926. Cambridge English Classics.

Vol. I contains the *New Arcadia*, i. e. the text of the 1590 Quarto. Vol. II, pp. 1—207, contains the additional books from the 1593 Folio. Vol. IV contains the *Old Arcadia*, printed from the Clifford MS.

See our ch. I, p. 5, 15 ff.

C. R. BASKERVILL, Sidney's *Arcadia* and *The Tryall of Chevalry*. *Modern Philology* X, 1912—1913, pp. 197—201.

Adds another play (pub. 1605) based on the *Arcadia* to those listed by Brunhuber, Greg and Hill.

Rede bij de Onthulling van een Gedenkteeken voor Sir Philip Sidney te Zutphen op 2 Juli 1913 uitgesproken door J. HUIZINGA. Pp. 17.

'Hij draagt den moed en avonturenlust van den middeleeuwschen ridder verheven in de wijde gedachtensfeer van den humanist, bezield met den gloed van het strijdend protestantisme en tegelijk met dien van de diepste liefde, die dat alles tempert met de schaduw van een zachte melancholie. De schrijver van de *Arcadia* is tenslotte (en wie de 16de eeuw en Cervantes goed verstaat, zal het kunnen zeggen met den diepsten eerbied), hij is bij dat alles ook een Don Quichot' (p. 7).

EDWIN GREENLAW, Sidney's *Arcadia* as an Example of Elizabethan Allegory. Pp. 327—337. Kittredge Anniversary Papers, 1913.

See our ch. III, pp. 122—124.

FRIEDRICH BRIE, Shakespeare und die Impresa-Kunst seiner Zeit. Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, 50. Jahrg., 1914. Pp. 9—30.

An interesting article on the sixteenth century art of the impresa, of which the *Arcadia* offers many examples. 'Die Bedeutung Sidneys, der von den Zeitgenossen als Schöpfer oder Erneuerer der Impresakunst angesehen wurde, beruht nun darin, dass er die Impresa in die englische Literatur einführt'. Before Sidney, Brie has only found the impresa employed in Whetstone's *Rock of Regard* (1576), in the story of Rinaldo and Giletta. But — it is tacitly assumed that the *Shepheardes Calendar* (1579) and Harvey's Letter-Book (ca. 1579) are posterior to the *Arcadia*! See our ch. I. p. 7.

ARTHUR JERROLD TIEJE, review of S. L. WOLFF, The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIII, 1914, 482—487.

A severe criticism of what Tieje calls 'the pseudo-scholarliness of Wolff's work'. 'Perhaps the most serious censure of the second half of Wolff's dissertation lies in its limitation of the field of investigation. If every parallelism of incident, characterization, setting, and style in Eliza-

bethan fiction and Greek romance is to be attributed to borrowing — and such is Wolff's attitude —, then every possible source of influence must be minutely scanned'. Tieje blames Wolff especially for ignoring the possibility of Spanish influence; though he admits that 'with Sidney, Wolff is on much surer ground'.

MALCOLM WILLIAM WALLACE, The Life of Sir Philip Sidney. Pp. VII + 428. Cambridge University Press, 1915.

In every respect a model biography, superseding Fox Bourne's. Wallace's observations on 'Sidney's progress as a thinker' are worth quoting: 'It would indeed be an interesting chapter in Sidney's biography if we could give some account of his attitude toward various doctrines which were gaining currency and which were to assume great importance in the history of thought. Did he accept, for instance, the fundamental doctrine of his friends Languet and François Hotman, that the sovereign power has been conferred on a ruler only on condition that he fulfil certain duties? Did he range himself with the Ramists in their attack on the Aristotelian logic? The dedication to him by Banosius of the works of Ramus, and his choice of Temple, the chief of the English Ramists, to be his secretary, would at least suggest an affirmative answer. Did he look with any favour on the increasing strength of the protest of Puritanism? Of these things we know nothing'.

T. K. WHIPPLE, Isocrates and Euphuism. *The Modern Language Review*, XI, 1916, pp. 15—27, 129—135.

Though not bearing directly on Sidney's style, Whipple's article is important for the history of the 'Euphuistic' elements in the *Arcadia*.

*Euphues:* The Anatomy of Wit. — Euphues and his England. By John Lyly. Edited by MORRIS WILLIAM CROLL and HARRY CLEMONS. London, Routledge, 1916.

In the Introduction (pp. XV—LXIV) Prof. Croll discusses Euphuism, not as the product of humanistic imitation of the ancients, but as a survival of medieval rhetoric.

ARTHUR JERROLD TIEJE, The Theory of Characterization in Prose Fiction prior to 1740. Pp. 131. University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature, No. 5. Minneapolis, 1916.

'Buried in prefaces and epilogs, there is considerable material dealing with the aims of fiction, its constructive technique, its modes of characterization, its descriptive setting, and is style'. Tieje deals with both the theory and practice of characterization. On pp. 6—7 he points out that the *Arcadia* marks an important advance on earlier romances in the latter respect. T. had previously published part of his results in *Englische*

*Studien* XLVII (1913—'14), 415—448; 'The critical heritage of fiction in 1579'; in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* XI (1912), 402—432: 'The expressed aim of the long prose fiction from 1579—1740'; and in the *P. M. L. A.*, N. S. 21, 213—252: 'A peculiar phase of realism in pre-Richardsonian fiction.' The last mentioned article I have not seen.

FRIEDRICH BRIE, Umfang und Ursprung der Poetischen Beseelung in der englischen Renaissance bis zu Philip Sidney. *Englische Studien* L (1916—'17), pp. 383—425.

Cited on p. 171. A valuable piece of stylistic research, tracing Sidney's use of 'poetic animation' (what Ruskin termed the 'pathetic fallacy') through English sixteenth-century poetry, the Pléiade and Petrarch, to the ancients. Marred only by Brie's *idée fixe* of the superlative excellence of almost everything that came from Sidney's pen. 'Was Phantasie und Kühnheit der Beseelung anbetrifft, wetteifert Sidney mit den grössten Lyrikern und Epikern in der Weltliteratur vor und nach ihm'.

FRIEDRICH BRIE, Sidneys Arcadia. Eine Studie zur englischen Renaissance. Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker, 124. Heft. Pp. XV + 330. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner [now Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin], 1918.

Frequently cited in this book; see esp. pp. 6, 7, 124—133, 145, 160, 187, 190 ff.

STANLEY HACKNESS, The Prose Style of Sir Philip Sidney. University of Wisconsin Studies, no. 2. (Hubbard Anniversary.) Pp. 57—76. Madison, 1918.

Of limited value. The author attempts to deal at once with the style of the *Arcadia* and with that of the *Defence of Poesie*. He distinguishes five kinds of protracted, overloaded sentences in the *Arcadia*, and four kinds of 'syntactical errors'. The latter he has also detected in the *Defence*, viz. two instances of the 'omission' of the relative pronoun and two of relative *which* referring to persons!

DONALD LEMEN CLARK, Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance. A Study of Rhetorical Terms in English Renaissance Literary Criticism. Pp. 166. New York, Columbia University Press, 1922.

'Whereas others have called attention to the classical and Italian sources for English critical ideas, I am able to show that in addition to these sources, the English critics were profoundly influenced by English mediæval traditions'. See our ch. III, p. 123, n. 1.

EDWIN GREENLAW, The Captivity Episode in Sidney's Arcadia. Pp. 54—63. Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature, 1923.

See our ch. III, pp. 134—135.

E. G. HARMAN, The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Pp. X + 233. London, Cecil Palmer, 1924.

A posthumous work, attempting to demonstrate that the *Arcadia* was written by ..... Bacon.

E. LEGOUIS et L. CAZAMIAN, Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise. Paris, Hachette, 1924.

The *Arcadia* is discussed by Legouis on pp. 259—264. Valuable rather as a piece of impressionistic criticism than for accuracy in matters of fact and detail. L. confines his analysis of the story, without expressly saying so, to the revised books (i. e. the 1590 Quarto), adding: 'C'est là l'histoire principale mais elle est coupée de multiples récits épisodiques dont le nombre alla croissant dans *les rédactions successives que Sidney fit de son roman primitif*' (p. 260).

See also our ch. III, pp. 138 ff.

H. W. LAWTON, Notes sur Jean Baudoin et sur ses traductions de l'anglais. *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, VI, 4, Oct.—Déc. 1926, pp. 673—681.

Includes an account of the French translation of the *Arcadia* by Baudoin (1624—1625), and of the rival translation by Mlle. Chappelain (1625).

T. P. HARRISON Jr., A Source of Sidney's *Arcadia*. University of Texas Studies in English, no. 6. December 1926. Pp. 53—71.

A study of the influence of Montemayor's *Diana*. See our ch. V, p. 190 ff.

H. C. LANCASTER, Sidney, Galaut, La Calpranède: an Early Instance of the Influence of English Literature upon French. *Modern Language Notes*, XLII, 2, Febr. 1927, pp. 71—77.

Though not translated into French until 1624, the *Arcadia* became the source of a French play before the end of 1605. Galaut, who died in that year, based his tragedy *Phalante* on the story of Helen, Queen of Corinth, in ch. XI of the first Book of the 1590 Quarto. La Calpranède's tragedy of the same title is an imitation of Galaut's.

C. W. LEMMI, Italian Borrowings in Sidney, *Modern Language Notes*, XLII, 2, Febr. 1927, pp. 77—79.

Traces Kalander's lampoon on Mopsa (Feuillerat, vol. I, p. 21) to a sonnet by Francesco Berni, composed in mockery of the Petrarchists; and a line sung by Dorus (Feuillerat, vol. II, p. 209, l. 3, vol. IV, p. 77, l. 29) to an utterance in the eleventh chapter of Dante's *Vita Nuova*.

MARIO PRAZ, Sidney's Original Arcadia. *The London Mercury*, March 1927. Vol. XV, No. 89. Pp. 507—514.

Frequently cited in this book; see especially pp. 18, 48, 49, 73, 86, 90, 118, 162, 179, 198.

LOIS WHITNEY, Concerning Nature in The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. *Studies in Philology*, XXIV, 2, April 1927, pp. 207—222.

Supplements Brie (who is not mentioned) in an argument entirely in Brie's vein. 'The important point for our purposes is the richness of philosophical background displayed in the Arcadia'. The reader receives the impression that 'Nature' in the *Arcadia* means almost anything.

F. C. DANCHIN, Les deux Arcadies de Sir Philip Sidney, *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, V, 1, Oct. 1927, pp. 39—52.

In the writer's own words, '[des] réflexions hâtives', though not without some value. 'L'appréciation du mérite respectif des deux Arcadies nous paraît au reste destinée à devenir un des lieux communs de l'histoire littéraire anglaise, un de ceux sur lesquels les critiques aiguiseront leur plume' (p. 42). See our ch. II, p. 49.

WILLIAM D. BRIGGS, Political Thought in Sidney's Arcadia. A paper read before the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast at Stanford University on November 30, 1928.

Mentioned in the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Supplement to Volume XLIII, Proceedings and List of Members, 1928. I have not yet seen this paper printed.

HECTOR GENOUY, L'"Arcadia" de Sidney dans ses rapports avec l'"Arcadia" de Sannazaro et la "Diana" de Montemayor. Pp. 211. Paris, Didier, 1928.

Though not without merit, this study of two of Sidney's sources is marred by serious defects. The author seems almost unaware of the work done by predecessors in the field, and of the literature of his subject

generally. Among the former, he cites Brunhuber only; Brie's book (publ. 1918) did not come to his knowledge until after his own work was finished. The studies of Wolff and Harrison are ignored; what is even more surprising, Genouy appears to be unaware of Feuillerat's edition of the *Old Arcadia*, published two years before his own book. For a fuller discussion, see a forthcoming review in the *Revue de Littérature Comparée*.

ERNEST A. BAKER, The History of the English Novel. Vol. II. The Elizabethan Age and After. Pp. 303. London, Witherby, March 1929.

The *Arcadia* is dealt with, adequately on the whole, in ch. V, pp. 67—89. The facts concerning the *Old Arcadia* are stated correctly, though there is no evidence of first-hand acquaintance with its contents, the author relying mainly on Wolff's monograph. Consequently, we read that 'Shakespeare was in Sidney's debt for the episode of the King of Paphlagonia (Galatia in the old *Arcadia*) .....' [p. 88; see Wolff, p. 353, n. 33, and our ch. II, p. 72.]

The chapter on *Euphues* is also well up to date, being based on Croll's Introduction (1916, see above). The reading of p. XVI, l. 11 should, however, have saved Dr. Baker from the slip, twice made (p. 62, n. 2 and p. 67), that 'by "similiter cadences" Sidney apparently means the *schemata*.'

We will not blame the author for quoting his own modernized edition of the *Arcadia* (1907, see above), but he should not, in his 'Select Reading and Reference List', have referred to Feuillerat's edition of the Complete Works as 'in progress'; the less so as the concluding volume containing the *Old Arcadia* is duly mentioned on p. 78, n. 3.

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[Good first-hand work on the *Arcadia* lies hidden in the following manuscript theses, especially the first and third. Moody's essay is in Harvard College Library; that by Miss Moens may be consulted in the Library of the University of London (South Kensington); Mlle. Derréal's thèse is in her private possession, theses for the French Diplôme d'Études Supérieures being returned to the writers after the examination.]

WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY, An Inquiry into the Sources of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. Thesis presented for honors in Modern Literature, Harvard College (Cambridge, Mass.) 1894.

For a summary of the contents, see Chapter V. On the author, see the *Cambridge History of American Literature*, vol. III, p. 62 ff.

MAGDALENA MOENS, A Comparison of the Treatment of Romantic Motives in Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, and in Typical Earlier and Later Romances. [Thesis for the Degree of M. A., University of London, English (Internal), 1912.]

The author gives in Part I a history of the popularity in England of *Amadis of Gaul*, *Arcadia* and *Le Grand Cyrus*. In Part II, she compares romantic motives in these three works: *a.* religion, *b.* magic, *c.* love, *d.* war. A good piece of work in its kind, though the writer's own view of some of the 'romantic motives' is apt to come between herself and the old romances. The account of the genesis of the *Arcadia* is of the vaguest; Moody's *Q. R.* article is ignored. Too little account is taken of Sidney's sources.

MARIE-THÉRÈSE DERRÉAL (Sœur Marie-Raymonde), L'Imagination Plastique dans l'Arcadia de Sir Philip Sidney. Thèse ms. pour le Diplôme d'Études Supérieures, Sorbonne, 1922. [Cf. Bibliography of English Language and Literature 1922, edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association, no. 1365.]

A well-written essay on the descriptive passages in the *Arcadia*, summarized, apparently, by Legouis on p. 263 of his *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* (see our extract on p. 138). The only criticism to be made is that the author takes no account of the traditional element in Sidney's pictorial scenes. Her conclusion is 'qu'on peut bien dire, non qu'il imite l'école vénitienne, mais qu'il en est un membre d'outre-mer, pour l'honneur du génie anglais, compensant ainsi, dans une certaine mesure, la pauvreté de son art dans une époque si féconde.'

## CORRIGENDA.

P. 11, l. 31. *Change* [11]) koninge *into* koninge [11])
P. 24, n. 2, l. 1. *Change* ; *into* :
P. 25, l. 21. *Change* [1]) *into* [2])
P. 35, l. 19. *Change* autor's *into* author's
P. 42, l. 9 of title. *Change* VERSION CONCLUSION. *into* VERSION — CONCLUSION.
P. 49. l. 9. *Change* to *into* of
P. 52, l. 21. *Change* upon *into* to
P. 58, right-hand col., l. 3. *Change* att *into* at
P. 58, left-hand col., last line. *Change* $y_e$ *into* $y^e$
P. 87, l. 28. *Change* suspence *into* suspense
P. 90, l. 3. *Change* p. 74, ll. 84-85 *into* pp. 74 & 84—85
P. 92, n. 1, l. 5. *Change* ω *into* $\tilde{\omega}$
P. 117, l. 10. *Change* peasant's *into* peasants'
P. 125, ll. 22 & 23 *should change places.*
P. 135, l. 26. *Change* . *into* ,
P. 138, l. 25. *Change* . *into* ,
P. 152, l. 8. *Change* alle *into* alle-
P. 163, n. 1, l. 2. *Change* famoes *into* famous
P. 170, l. 14. *Change* ronning *into* ronning
P. 175, left-hand col., last line but one. *Change* crewed *into* crewell
P. 176, right-hand col., ll. 5 & 6 *should change places.*
P. 197, l. 7. *Change* Suspence *into* Suspense
Ibidem. *Change* opinion. *into* opinion,

# STELLINGEN.

I.

De opvatting van Dr. A. G. van Hamel (*Tijdschrift voor Ned. Taal en Letterkunde*, XLVII, bl. 8 vlgg.) dat de z.g. palatalisatie der klinkers en de verschuiving der medeklinkers in de Germaanse dialekten beide te verklaren zijn als proleptiese verschijnselen, is, wat de medeklinkers betreft, onjuist.

II.

Ten onrechte neemt Keller (*Anglica*, Festschrift für Alois Brandl) aan dat bij de ontwikkeling van de z.g. *progressive form* Keltiese invloed in het spel is geweest.

III.

De regel voor de door Poutsma, *A Grammar of Late Modern English*, vol. IV, p. 259, § 99, vermelde gevallen kan aldus worden geformuleerd:

'In compound sentences containing a statement based on personal experience, and including a temporal clause introduced by *when*, *to have* + perfect participle is used, both in the principal and in the dependent clause(s), to express the iterative aspect.'

## IV.

Ten onrechte betrekken Zwaardemaker en Eijkman in hun *Leerboek der Phonetiek* het Fries in hun beschouwingen over de Nederlandse dialekten.

## V.

De aanduiding *pry.* co. in Medwall's tussenspel *Nature*, r. 724 (Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas*, bl. 96) is niet, zoals Brandl in zijn inleiding, bl. XXXIX, aanneemt, een afkorting van *pryvy council*, doch een drukfout voor *pryde*.

## VI.

Hoewel Jupiter's bode *Mery reporte* in de lijst der dramatis personae van John Heywood's *Play of the Wether* wordt aangeduid als 'the vyce', behoort deze figuur niet tot het Vice-type, zoals wij dat in het Engelse drama van de zestiende eeuw aantreffen.

## VII.

Zolang een nauwkeurige omschrijving van het begrip *Renaissance* in de geschiedenis der Engelse letterkunde ontbreekt, is het beter deze term in het geheel niet te gebruiken.

## VIII.

Gedurende de zestiende eeuw stond Engeland op geestelik en ekonomies gebied in bijna ieder opzicht achter bij Italië, Frankrijk en de Nederlanden.

## IX.

De voorstelling die Sidney Lee in zijn boek *The French Renaissance in England* geeft van de invloed der Franse letterkunde op de Engelse gedurende de zestiende eeuw, is sterk overdreven.

## X.

De z.g. *Areopagus*, door Grosart en anderen voorgesteld als een litteraire club naar het voorbeeld der Franse *Pléiade*, heeft nimmer bestaan.

## XI.

Er is niet voldoende bewijsgrond voor de door Liljegren (*Studies in Milton*) herhaalde beschuldiging dat Milton zelf aansprakelik zou zijn voor de opname in de *Eikon Basilike* van het door Karel I aan Sidney's *Arcadia* ontleende gebed van Pamela.

## XII.

Bij de studie der moderne philologie in Nederland moet, meer dan tot dusver, rekening worden gehouden met de geschiedenis en het maatschappelik leven van het betrokken volk, en met die kultuuruitingen welke niet of slechts gedeeltelik hun weerspiegeling vinden in de literatuur. De studie der *levende* taal moet echter uitgangspunt en hoofdzaak blijven.

## XIII.

Bij de studie van de moderne Engelse taal en letterkunde mag hun ontwikkeling in Engels-sprekende landen buiten Europa niet langer verwaarloosd worden. In de eerste plaats geldt dit voor de taal en de literatuur der Verenigde Staten van Amerika.

## XIV.

De totstandkoming is gewenst van een krities jaarbericht, waarin publikaties over ieder onderdeel van het Engelse taalgebied worden besproken, met dezelfde zorg die in *The Year's Work in English Studies* aan de Engelse letterkunde wordt besteed. Dit overzicht kan het best worden samengesteld in Amerika, of op het vasteland van Europa.

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